

A HISTORY OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS

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INTRODUCTION.

The Gurjara-Pratihāras were one of the greatest political powers in the early mediaeval period of Indian history. It was but necessary that a connected and detailed account of such a great dynasty should be prepared. So far their history was dealt with only succinctly in works on Indian history. In the following pages we have essayed the task of presenting their history in the form of a monograph.

The scope of the thesis covers not only the genealogical and chronological history of the dynasty, which is so often found in the dynastic histories of India, but also the administrative, social, religious and cultural history of the land under the regime of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

The materials for writing the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras are scattered over a number of sources. The Pratihāras have left a large number of official records of the family in the form of inscriptions. The most important of these are the ^{Jodhpur} ~~Bauka~~ inscription of ^{Bauka} ~~Jodhpur~~ and the ^{Bhoja I.} ~~Bhoja~~ ^{Gwalior} ~~Prasasti~~ of ~~Gwalior~~. They throw a flood of light on the problem of the origin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the chronology and the genealogy of the family, the wars and achievements of individual kings, the contemporary powers with whom the Pratihāras had to deal and a number of details of social and religious importance. Besides these two, there are a large

number of epigraphs which supplement and complete the history of the dynasty. The epigraphical records of the contemporary powers also shed light on the status and the interstate relations of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

Another important ^{source} source of the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is the contemporary Sanskrit literature. This source has not received its due importance at the hands of the writers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history. It is true that this source does not help us in writing the chronological and genealogical history of the family but it is equally true that it contains materials which can be woven together to present the social, religious and cultural history of the land. The Gurjara-Pratihāras had no court chronicler but they had a court-poet of a very high order in Rājasekhara. His two works, the Bālarāmāyana and the Bālabbhārata, are based on the ancient epics of India and they do not contain reflections on contemporary history, but introductions to them by the poet have preserved historical materials of contemporary importance. His other two works, the Karpūramañjarī and the Viddha-sālabhañjikā, the themes of which are fictitious, contain very good picture of the court life and the social and religious conditions prevailing in the country. The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara, though a work on poetics, is a mine of information regarding the peoples, languages, society, religion and culture of the country.

Besides the literary works of the celebrated poet Rājasekhara, the Sanskrit works on nīti and dharma also supply useful materials on political ideals, polity and administration under the regime of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The accounts of the Muslim travellers, traders, observes and historiographers, corroborate, confirm and supplement the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras known from other sources. Modern works embodying the results of up-to-date researches have also been utilised in the thesis.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity of offering my respectful thanks to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D., (London), Head of the Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, under whose able guidance I pursued my researches and without ^{whose} ~~these~~ help this thesis would have never been completed. My indebtedness to the authors and writers of modern works and papers is duly acknowledged in proper places.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I. -	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
A. Br. -	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Ann. Report Rajputana Museum --	Annual Report, Rajputana Museum
Ann. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv --	Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey - Central Circle.
A.R. (As. Res.) --	Asiatic Researches.
Arch. Surv. Ind. (Or. A.S.I.)-	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
Arch. Surv. rep. (or A.S.R.) --	Archaeological Survey Reports by Cunningham.
Beal (or B.R.) --	Buddhist Record of the Western World by S. Beal.
B.I. Series --	Bibliotheca India Series, Calcutta.
Bomb. Gaz. --	Bombay Gazetteer.
Briggs, Firishta --	History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power (Tarikh-i-Firishta)
C.I.I. --	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume III.
D.H.N.I. --	Dynastie History of Northern India by H. C. Ray

- Ep. Ind. -- Epigraphia Indica
- G. O. S. -- ~~East~~ Gaekead Oriental Series.
- Imp. Gaz. -- Imperial Gazetteer.
- Ind. Ant. -- Indian Antiquary.
- Ind. Hist. Quart (or I.H.Q.)- Indian Historical Quarterly.
- J. of American Oriental Soc.- Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- J.A.S.B. -- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J.B.B.R.A.S. -- Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J.B.O.R.S. (J.B.Or.R.Soc.) - Journal of the Bihar^{and} Orissa Research Society.
- J. Dept. of Letters, Cal.University -- Journal of the Department of letters, Calcutta University.
- J.I.H. -- Journal of Indian History.
- J.R.A.S. -- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J.U.G. -- Journal of the University of Gauhati.
- k.s. - Kāthaka Samhita.
- M.S. -- Manu Smṛti.
- Mem.As.Soc.Bengal (or M.A.S.B.) -- Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Mit. on Yājñ. -- Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya.

Mys. A. R.	-- Mysore Archaeological Survey Report.
P.ca.	-- Prabhāvaka - Carita.
Prog. Rep. A.S.I.	-- Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
Rājat.	-- Rājataranginī (Kalhana).
R.V.	-- Rgveda.
S.Br.	-- Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa.
Tran. of Vienna Ori. Cong., Arian Section	- Transactions of Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section.
Watters	-- Suyuan On Yuanchwang's Travels
Z.D.M.G.	-- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlan- dischen Gesellschaft.

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CHAPTER I

WHO WERE THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS ?

The Gurjara-Pratihāras came into prominence about the second half of the sixth century A.D. They, no doubt, took advantage of the downfall of the Gupta empire to establish their political authority. Their most important kingdom was that founded in the heart of Rajputana near Jodhpur, and this region came to be called after them Gurjaratrā. In addition to the kingdom of Rajputana, there was another principality in the region round Broach ruled over by Gurjara chiefs. Further, a branch of the Pratihāras ruled at Mālava. The fourth king of this branch, Vatsarāja (c. 783-84-795 A.D.) was driven out from Mālava into the trackless desert of Maru (Rajputana) by the nāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva Dhārāvārṣa. Vatsarāja's son Nāgaśata II (c. 795-833 A.D.) emerged from his refuge in Rajputana and defeated Cakrāyudha who was ruling at Kanauj as a nominee of Dharmapāla of Bengal. For near about two centuries the Pratihāras ruled over the kingdom of Kanauj. Before taking up the thread of the history of the Pratihāras, we may pause here to trace their origin.

The origin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is shrouded in mystery. The inscriptions of the Gurjaratrā family of the Gurjara-Pratihāras unequivocally declare them to be

the off-spring of Haricandra, a Brāhmaṇa, begotten on his Kṣatriyā wife Bhadrā and trace their descent from Lakṣmaṇa of the Rāghu dynasty. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I of Kanauj more expressly describes Lakṣmaṇa as the progenitor and Nāgabhaṭa I his scion; "Saumitri, his (Rāma's) honourable younger brother of staff severe, was the door-keeper (Pratīhāra) since he repelled (the enemies) in the battle with Meghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride.

1. Viprah Śrī Haricendrākhyah patnī Bhadrā ca Kṣattriyā
tabhyān tu[ye su]tā jātāh [pratīhā]rāś ca tām viduh/2/

Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.95

Sva-bhrātrā Rā-

mabhadrasya pratīhāryam kṛtam yatah/Śrī
Pratīhāra-vanśo-yam-ataś -^tannatim - āmanyat/4/

Ibid, see also J.R.A.S., 1895, p.516.

2. Ślāghya-

s - tasy-ānujo-sau Meghavā-mada-mā^uśho
Meghanādasya samkhyā^u

Saumittris-tīvra-dandah pratiharaṇa-vidher-yah
pratīhāra āsit/3/ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.107

In that family, which extended shelter to the triple world and bore the emblem of Pratihāra, the king Nāgabhaṭa appeared as incarnation of the old sage in a strange way³. It further represents Vatsarāja as the "foremost among the most distinguished Kṣatriyas" and as one who "stamped the noble race of Ikṣvāku with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct"⁴.

Rājasekhara, who was the court-poet of Mahendrapāla and his son Mahīpāla, bears out this proud claim in his literary compositions. In his works, the Viddhasālabbhañjikā and the Bālabhārata, he calls his benignant patron Mahendrapāla the "ornament of the race of Ragu"⁵ and the "leading person^e of Ragu's family"⁶. In the latter work Mahīpāla is

3. tad-vaṇṣe Pratihāra-Ketana-bhṛti ttrailokya-rakṣa-^{de}śpatī⁷
 Devo Nāgabhaṭaḥ purātana-muner-mūrttir-va(bha) bhūv-
 ādbhutaṁ // Ibid.

4. ---- ekaḥ Kṣatriya-puṅgava^eṣhu ca yaśo-gurvvin-dhureṇ
 prodvah^ann/
 Ikṣvāk[o]ḥ kulam-unnataṁ sucaritais-cakre-sva-nāmān-
 kīrt^anam // Ibid.

5. Raghukulatilako Mahendrapālaḥ -----

4.6. Viddhasālabbhañjikā (ed.B.R.Arto), 1.6.

6. Devo yasya Mahendrapālanrpatiḥ śiṣyo Raghugrāmaṇiḥ.

Bālabhārata 1.11.

In the ~~latter work Mahipala~~ is referred to as the "pearl jewel of the lin⁴age of Raghu"⁷.

The alleged relation with the celebrated family of Ikṣvāku seems apparently concocted. It is rather difficult to connect a dynasty which rose to prominence in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. with such a ruling family of antiquity as the Ikṣvāku, the existence of ^{which} ~~which~~ cannot chronologically be ascertained in the annals of early India. It echoes perhaps the practice of the time. The ruling races felt elated in tracing their pedigree from one or the other of the celebrated ruling families of ancient India. Their bards or praśasti writers flinched not a whit in affirming and expatiating on such claims. If the Pratīhāras were really the descendants of Lakṣmaṇa, how is it that a Brāhmaṇa figures as their progenitor ?

A few legendary evidences suggest a different line of inquiry. Admagupta, a contemporary of the Karamāra Vākpati Muñja and his successor Sindhurāja, in his Navasāhasāṅka-carita⁸ traces the origin of the Pratīhāras along with the Cālukyas, the Cāhamānas and the Karamāras from the fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu.

7. ⁷ ~~lōṇa~~ (-Mahīpāladevena) ca Raghuvaṇśamuktā-

maninā. Ibid., p.2

8. XI, 64-72

This claim⁹ seems to be corroborated by the Udaipur prastā⁹, which throws light on the origin of the Paramāras, and the Prthvirāja-Rāso of Candabaradāi. The latter gives the following account: "Then the sage Vasiṣṭha carefully prepared a pit; performing meditation, he offered a homa in the midst of the altar in the presence of the Suras. Then there appeared the Pratiḥāra; him he placed on the road to the palace. Next there appeared the Cālukka; him Brahma brought forth from his hollowed palm. The Pāvāra (Paramāra) (now) appeared, the excellent hero: (him) the sage called blessed as the 'slayer of the enemy' (paramāra). The three men made a fight unequalled; (but) the Rākṣasas did not draw back a whit -----. Vasiṣṭha thought to himself "These Asuras are very impudent -----". So he made a fire in the fire-pit, preparing a thorough protection for Suras -----. Then there arose from the fire the Cāhuvān, four-armed, holding a sword in each arm¹⁰". The Rāso includes

9. Ep.Ind., Vol. I, pp.233-38.

10. Tabā su-rikkhi Vasiṣṭha rocana raci tāmahi/

Dhāriya dhyāna jaji homa madhya vedīśura sāmaha/

Tabā pragatyaū Pratiḥāra, rāha tīni thaura su-dhāriya/

Phuni pragatyaū Calukka, Brahma tīni cālu su-sāriya/

Pāvāra pragatyaū bīravara, kahyaū rikkhī para-māra-
dhana/

~~the~~ ~~also~~ includes the Pratihāras among the thirty-six
11
clans (kulas) of the Rajputs.

(Continued from the previous page)

Traya purukha juddha kīnau atula, naba Rakkhasa

Khuddanta tana/24/

Taba citiya Vāṣiṣṭha, ca Āsura avicāriya/27/

Anala-kuṇḍa kiya anala sajji upagāra sārāsura/

Upajyau anala Cāhuvāna taba cava su-bāhu asibāha dhari//

Stanzas 124 ff.

11. Ravi Sasi Jādhava Vanśa/ Kukutstha Karamāra Sadāvara

Cāhuvāna Cālukka/ Chāṇḍaka Silāra Abhiyara

Doyamattia (Doyamata) Makayāna/ Garua Gohila

Gohilaputa/

Cāpotkata Parihāra/ Rāva Rāthor Rosajuta/

Devarā Tānka Saidhava Aniga (Anaṅga) Yautika

Pratihāra Dadhiṣaṭ/

Kārattapāla Kotapāla Hula/ Haritata Gorakalā

(Mā)ṣ mata/

Dhanya (Dhānya) Pālaka Hikumbhavana/Rājapāla

Kavinīsa/

This legendary origin seems to be mythical and unworthy of credence. There is hardly any reference to this legend in the Pratihāra records. It is amazing that such claims were made without any cogent proof. The myth may well represent, as observed by Crooke, "a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was in Southern Rajputana, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system".¹²

The Pratihāras appear to be of foreign¹³ extraction. We have reason to hold that they

(Continued from the previous page)

Kālacchurakai ādi de/ barane vaṁśa chatīsa//

See also C.V. Daidya: Hist. of Med. Hindu India,

Vol. II pp.22-23.

12. Journal Royal Anthropological Institute, 1911, p.42

13. Col.Tod.: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol.III, p.1445; Ibid, Vol.I, p.XXXIII; Cunningham: Arch.Surv.Rep., Vol.II, pp.72-73; J.R.A.S., 1909, pt.I pp.53-54; Dr.V.A. Smith: Early Hist. of India, 2nd ed., p.290; Ibid. p.300; Bomb.Gaz., Vol.IX, pt. 1, pp.471-78; J.R.A.S., 1904, p.640; Ibid. 1905, p.29; A. Baines: Ethnography, p.31; J.R.A.S. 1907, p.988;
(contd. on the following page)

~~We have reason to hold that they were~~ a branch of the famous Gurjaras who seem to have forced their way into India along with or soon after the white Hunas in either the fifth or the sixth century A.D.¹⁴ This seems evident from the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, dated V.E. 1016=959 A.D., who was a f^eundatory of the Pratihāra Vijayapāladeva (c. 959-990 A.D.). We are told in the epigraph that Mathanadeva belonged to the Pratihāra family of the Gurjaras, since the phrase 'Gurjara-Pratihārānvayah' occurring in it must be interpreted to mean 'Pratihāra clan of the Gurjaras'.¹⁵ This view is, however, contested by others who take Gurjara to be primarily the name of a country whose inhabitants were naturally known as Gurjaras.¹⁶ It has been suggested that

(Continued from the previous page)

Sir D. Ibbeston: Punjab Castes, p.184; Bomb. Gaz. Vol.1, pt.1, p.2; J. Dept. of Letters, Cal. University, Vol.X, 1923-pp.1-76; Ind. Ant. Vol.XL, p.21; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXI, pp.405 ff.; Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, pp.221-23.

14. J.R.A.S. 1909, pt. I, pp.53-54.

15. Ep. Ind. III, p.266, see also Ind. Ant. XL, p.22.

16. C.V. Vaidya: Hist. of Med. Hindu India, Vol. II, pp.31

32, note; Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. X, 1934, p.338; K.M. Munshi:

The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol. III, pp.5-6

It has been suggested that the various geographical units now called Gujarat (or allied names) were originally parts of a large homogeneous country named Gurjaradeśa under the political authority of its own kings, and while isolated fragments of it have retained the old name others have lost it.¹⁷ This view has not, however, met with general acceptance. For while there is no evidence that the mighty empire of the Pratihāras had a common geographical name and a homogeneous character as distinguished from the rest of India, several parts of it have retained distinct names throughout the duration of that empire and even later. The various localities clearly associated in old times with the name Gurjara, and the present geographical distribution of the people called Gujarā, undoubtedly favour the view that the term primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from them.

17.— J. Dept. of Letters, Cal University, Vol. X, 1923, pp. 1 ff:

K. M. Munshi: The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, Vol. III pp. 1 ff; Ind. Hist. Quart., X, pp 337, 613; XI, p. 167; XIII, p. 137; Indian Culture, Calcutta, I, p. 510; IV p. 113; J.B.O.R.S., XXIV, p. 221.

That the word Gurjara was used for a tribe is further borne out by the Rajor inscription. In line 12 there occur the words ----- Tathaitat pratyāsanna Śrī-Gurjjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra-sametah -----", which has rightly been translated by "together with all the neighbouring fields cultivated by the Gurjaras". Here the cultivators themselves are clearly called Gurjaras, and it may, therefore, be reasonable to presume that in the earlier part of the grant, in line four too, the term bears a racial signification.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records and the accounts of the Muslim travellers like Abu Zaid and Al Masūdī who allude to their fights with the Juzr or Gujaras of the north¹⁸ may confirm that the Pratihāras belonged to the Gurjara stock. These references are undoubtedly to be held as applying to the Pratihāras of Kānyakubja, for at this period they were the only power to contend against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, with whom ^osometimes the Arabs even co-operated against Kānyakubja. In addition, we have the important testimony of the Kanarese poet Kampa, who expressly calls the Pratihāra Mahīpala "Ghūrjararāja". This epithet could hardly be applied to him, if the term

"Ghūrjara" bore a geographical sense denoting what after all was only a small portion of Mahīpāla's vast territories.¹⁹

Lastly, support of the foreign or Gurjara origin of the Pratihāras may further be found in certain outlandish personal names of the earlier Pratihāra rulers of Gurjaratrā. The Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka informs us that Haricandra was surnamed Rohillāddhi, Narabhata had another name Pellāpelli on account of his prowess and Nāgabhata was also called Nāhada.²⁰ Surely these do not sound Aryan names, and what is more notable is that they were assumed when the Pratihāras of Rajputana had wholly become merged into the Hindu Society.²¹

It may, therefore, be concluded that the Pratihāras belonged to the Gurjara stock. After the rite of purification as referred to elsewhere they assumed Hindu names and adopted Hindu customs and manners. Their sudden rise into prominence in the sixth century A.D., and the attempt of some of their royal dynasties to fabricate a mythical origin lend colour to this view.

19. Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p.222.

20. Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp.97-98.

21. Ind. Hist. Quart., IV, p.746

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY¹

The early inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras discovered at Jodhpur² and Ghatiyala³ testify to the fact that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras came into prominence in Gurjaratrā. It cannot be ascertained when and where their progenitor Haricandra established his seat of power but it may be inferred that he rose to power in a province which subsequently extended from Dandavānakavisaya⁴ (modern Didwana) in the west to Rajor⁵ in the east, comprising the western part of the Jodhpur State and nearly the whole of the states of Jaipur and Alwar.⁶ When his sons captured

1. See V.B. Mishra: The Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Gurjaratrā, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 182-188
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 87-99.
3. J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 513-21.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 213.
5. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 266, line 1.
6. I.H.Q., Vol. X, 1934, p. 338; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 413; Ind. Ant., Vol. LVII, p. 181, K.M. Munshi: The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, pt. III, p. 2; Dr. Buhler's identification of Gurjaratrā with modern Gujarat is untenable. The former was not used for the latter in the period under

⁷
Māṇḍavyapura the capital was probably transferred to that place.

But before long a change loomed on the Pratihāra horizon. Nāgabhaṭa, son and successor of Narabhaṭa, made⁸ Medāntaka his permanent capital. Some scholars believe on the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who visited Kiu-⁹che-lo (Gurjara) and described Pi-lo-mo-lo¹⁰ (Bhillamāla) as its capital town, that Bhīnmāla or Bhīllamala was sometime their seat of power. It cannot be

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consideration. It was only towards the middle of the 12th century A.D. that the Cālukya records begin to speak of modern Gujarat as Gurjarabhūmi. See, C.V. Vaidya: Hist. of Med. Hindu India, Vol. III, p. 195.

7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95, Verse 6.
8. Ibid., p. 95.
9. Watters, II, p. 249.
10. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 192; J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 55; See, however, Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo, J. B. B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 418; Gurjaras, p. 417.

asserted definitively when Bhīnmāla came into the possession of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Brahmagupta,¹¹ called Bhīllamālakācārya- the teacher residing in Bhīllamāla, states that he wrote his Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta in Ś.S. 550 (A.D. 628) in the reign of the Cāpa ruler¹² Vyāghramukha. It bears out that Bhīllamāla was governed by the Cāpas in 628 A.D. Probably the Cāpas could not withstand the rising Pratīhāras and were eventually ousted by them from Bhīllamāla sometime before 641 A.D., when it came into their possession and became their capital. Perhaps the Pratīhāras had to transfer their seat of power again to Māṇḍavapura when the Tajikas or Arabs infested their¹³ country.

11. J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 923, Sachau-Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 153.

12. Śrī Cāpavaśatīlake Śrī Vyāghramukhe nr̥pe Śakanṛpāṇam/
Pañcāśatsanyuktairvarṣasātaiḥ pañcabhiratītaiḥ//7//
Brāhmaṇ Sphuṭasiddhāntaḥ sajjanaganītagolavitprītyaḥ/
Primśadvarṣeṇa Kṛto Jīṣṇusutabrahmaguptena//8//

Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta, canto 24.

13. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I p. 126; Tran. of Vienna
Ori. Cong., Arian Section, p. 231.

As stated earlier, Haricandra was the progenitor of the dynasty. Dr. Hoernle¹⁴ places him at about 640 A.D. This date does not seem to be plausible, for we hear of the Gurjaras for the first time in the last two decades of the sixth century A.D., when they are said to have been harassed by Prabhākaravardhana.¹⁵ It is reasonable to assume that they rose to power sometime in the second half of the sixth century. The Jodhpur and Chatiyala inscriptions of the dynasty refer to a line of kings extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as an average for each generation, the total period of their rule would be about 300 years. As these inscriptions bear the dates 894 (V.S.) and 918 (V.S.) respectively, the founder of the dynasty may be placed at about V.S. 607-550 A.D.

We know very little of Haricandra and his successors. The early inscriptions refer to Haricandra as an 'illustrious Brāhmaṇa well versed in the meaning of the Vedas and the Śāstras^{and} as a preceptor like Prajāpati'. He was also called

14. J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 28.

15. Harṣa-carita, N.S., Edn. 1937, p. 120.

16
Rohillāddhi. He had married "(first) the daughter of a
Brāhmaṇa, and, (as) second (wife), the Kshatriya Bhadrā,¹⁷
belonging to a noble family and possessed of good qualities!
Bhadrā gave birth to four sons, Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila
(c. 575-600 A.D.) and Dadda, who were "fit to hold the earth".
They captured Māṇḍavyapura and "erected a high rampart,¹⁸
(which was) calculated to increase the fear of enemies".

From Rajjila (c. 575-600 A.D.) among them was born
"the illustrious son" Narabhaṭa (c. 600-625 A.D.), who on
account of his prowess was called Pellāpelli.¹⁹ His son and
successor Nāgabhaṭa (c. 625-50 A.D.) also known as Nāhada,²⁰
made Medāntakapura his permanent capital.²¹ It was perhaps
during his reign that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang paid
a visit to the Gurjara country. His accounts refer to the

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95, Verses 5-7; J.R.A.S., 1895,
p. 516, Verse 3.

17. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 97.

18. Ibid, p. 95, Verses 9-10; The Ghatiyala inscription
refers to only one son, Rajjila. J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 516,
Verse 3.

19. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95; J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 516, Verse 4.

20. Ibid.

21. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 95, Verse 12.

then ruler of Gurjaratrā. He says, "The King, who was a Kshatriya by birth was a young man celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism and a patron of exceptional abilities".²²

From Nāgabhat̃a, begotten on Jajjikādevī, "were born the two uterine accomplished sons named Tāta and Bhoja, who were oppressors of enemies". By Tāta who realised that the world was evanescent as lightning, the kingdom was conferred upon his younger brother, the illustrious Bhoja. Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion".²³

Tāta's son the illustrious Yaśovardhana (c.675-700 A.D.), renowned for his prowess, attained celebrity by his own arms.²⁴ Perhaps it was during his reign that Prthuwardhana of Sailavansa²⁵ attacked the Gurjara territories. We are told in the Ragholi plates of

22. Watters: Vol. II, p.249.

23. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, pp.95-96, Verses 13-15; J.R.A.S. 1895, p.516, verse 4.

24. Ibid., Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.96, Verse 16.

25. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 42.

of Jayavardhana II that "Prthuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame²⁶ the Gurjara country by his various attacks". But the success seems to have been short-lived. Yasovardhana is credited with having rooted out all enemies and passed on the reins of government to his son Canduka.²⁷

Not unlike his father Canduka (c.700-25 A.D.)²⁸ was known for his prowess and charitable disposition. His period probably witnessed the invasion of the Tajikas or Arabs. Biladuri,²⁹ while giving an account of Junaid's incursions, mentions among other things that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal and conquered Bailman and Jurz. These places may be identified with Maru-māda,³⁰ which also comprises Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State,

26. Ibid., p. 44.

27. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 96, Verse 16.

28. Ibid, Verse 17; J.R.A.S., 1895, p.16 Verse 5.

29. Elliot; Hist. of India, Vol.I, p.126; See also Nausari
Copperplates of Pulakesirāja, Tran. of the Vienna Ori.
Cong. Arian Sec, p.231. For the date of Junaid's invasion
See p.³⁵40.

30. Ep.Ind., Vol. IX., p.278

Mandor, Vallamandala³¹, and Gurjara³² respectively. Evidently the whole of the Gurjara country was attacked by the Arabs whose expeditions enveloped it in ruins. Canduka seems to have restored peace and order after the Arab invasion, for inscriptions refer to his son Śiluka exercising authority over Gurjaratrā.

Śiluka (c.725-50 A.D.) of "irrepressible prowess"³³ "fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravani and Valla". He inflicted defeat upon Bhattika Devarāja, who was perhaps a member of the Bhattī-clan (Bhattī-Vamśa),³⁴ referred to in the Jodhpur inscription, and obtained from him

31. Śrī K.M.Munshi identifies Al Bailman with Bhilmāla. See The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, pt. III, p. 51.

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.93; Identification of Jura given in Appendix 4 of Elliot's Hist. of India, Vol. I, p.358, is untenable.

33. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.96, Verse 18.

34. Ibid. Verse 26; See also Khyāta (II, p.173, Hindi Trans.) of Muta Nainsī; G.H. Ojha: Rājputāne kā Itihāsa, Vol. I, p.168. Drs. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar identify Devarāja with the nephew of Nagabhata I of the Gwalior inscription. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp.95, 103; Dr. A. S. Altekar: The Rāstrakūtas & their Times, p.39; J.I.H.V., pp 233-235; I.H.Q. 1939, Vol. XV, p. 595

the ensign of the umbrella.³⁵ He got a tank excavated and a temple of Siddheśvara Mahādeva constructed at the holy place called Tretā.³⁶ A city owed its foundation to him.

"From the illustrious Śiluka was born the excellent son, the illustrious Jhoṭa (c.750-75 A.D.),³⁷ who proceeded to the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) after enjoying the bliss of kingdom". His son Bhillāditya (c.775-800 A.D.) "governed the kingdom, while young, and then bestowed it on his son Kakka. He proceeded to Gaṅgā-dvāra and after staying for eighteen years finally went to heaven by practising fast".³⁸

We are told in the inscriptions that Kakka (c.800-25 A.D.)³⁹ was a man of learning. He is credited with having fought with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri. It is unimaginable that he could have fought with them single-handed. It may, therefore, safely be assumed that he accompanied his suzerain, Nāgabhaṭa II, in his expedition against the king of Vaṅga.⁴¹

35. Ep. Ind., XVIII, p.96, Verse. 19.

36. Ibid., Verse 20.

37. Ibid, Verse 21; J.R.A.S. 1895, p.516, Verse 5.

38. Ibid., Ep. Ind. XVIII, p.96, Verses 22-23.

39. Ibid, Verse 25.

40. Ibid., Verse 24.

41. Ibid, p.108, Verse 10; Ibid, p. 94.

We do not know when Kakka ceased to rule. His son Bāuka, begotten on the "pure illustrious great queen Padminī of the Bhatti-clan",⁴² was in power in the year 894⁴³ V.S. = 837 A.D. We are told in the Jodhpur inscription that Bāuka put to rout a confederacy of enemies formed against him and killed Mayūra, whose identity remains uncertain.⁴⁴ He seems to have challenged the authority of the imperial Pratihāras of Kānyakubja by asserting his independence.⁴⁵ A close study of the Daulatpur plate bears out the fact that Gurjaratrā held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhatta II slipped out of the hands of the Pratihāras of Kānyakubja during the short reign of Rāmabhadra.⁴⁶ But Bāuka appears to have been deprived of his hard-won freedom by Bhoja I, who is credited with having restored his authority over Gurjaratrā.⁴⁷

42. Ibid, p.96, Verse 26; J.H.Q. 1939, XV, p.595.

43. Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 87-99

44. Ibid, p. 95; J.I.H., V, p.235

45. Ep. Ind., V, p. 208

46. Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 94.

47. Ibid., V, p. 208

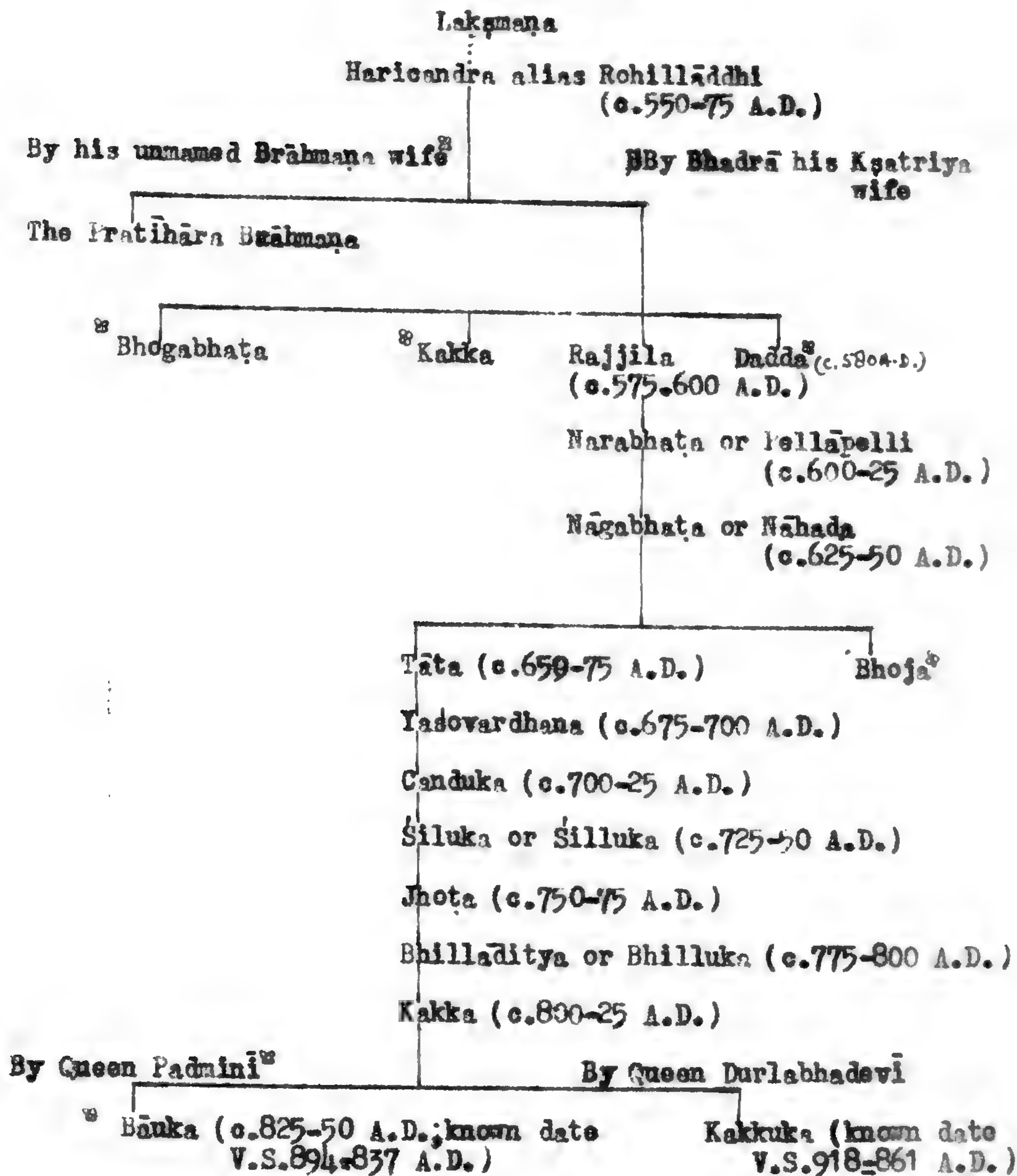
Bāuka seems to have ^{been} succeeded by his step-brother Kakkuka, whose inscription, dated V.S. 918 = 861 A.D., has been discovered at Ghatiyala. He are told in the inscription that in the year 918 (V.S.) he founded a market fit for the traders at a village known as Rohimsakūpa. He erected two pillars "like heaps of his renown" at Maddoara and Rohimsakūpa⁴⁸ and dedicated a temple to God-Jin.⁴⁹

This chapter may fittingly be concluded by a brief discussion on the status of these kings of Gurjaratrā. The early rulers of the family do not assume pompous titles like Paramahattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara which were generally prefixed with the names of paramount sovereigns. The absence of such titles cannot exactly determine their status, for Nāgabhaṭa I and Bhoja I of the Pratihāra family of Kānyakubja are referred to without any epithets in the Gwalior inscription. But they were paramount and independent rulers. We may, therefore, explain the absence of these titles by supposing with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that "titular formulas, in reality, were of extremel⁵⁰ slight significance in this period". It may safely be assumed that the early rulers of the dynasty were independent but the later ones had to acknowledge suzerainty of Vatsarāja and his successors.⁵¹

48. J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 518, v. 21. 50. Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 90.
51. Ibid., V, p. 208

49. Ibid, Verse 2 .

52
Genealogical Table



52. Jodhpur stone inscription of Bāuka, Ibid, XVIII, pp.95-97;
Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka, J.R.A.S., 1895, pp.516-18

⊗ Not referred to in the Ghatiyala inscription.

CHAPTER III

THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRAS IN BHĠGUKACCHA (BROACH)

The Gurjara-Pratīhāras appear to have occupied Bhṛgukaccha under the command of Dadḁa I. The inscriptions of the family, with the single exception of the Nausari plate, bear out that Dadḁa I was the progenitor of the Bhṛgukaccha branch of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. The Nausari¹ plate, on the other hand, traces their descent from Karna. Who this Karna was is shrouded in mystery. Whether he was a real historical figure, or the elder half-brother of the five Pāṇḁavas cannot be exactly determined with the scanty information at hand. The name Śāntanu cited for the sake of comparison in line 15² of the plate may point out that both he and Karna were epic heroes. Indeed, the practice of tracing pedigree from some epic hero^{here}³ was very common in this period. But they were mostly concoctions of panegyrists.

We cannot ascertain when Dadḁa I took up the reins of government. The earliest date available for the third chief of the dynasty is the year 380 (Kalacuri Era).³

1, Mahārāja-Karṇāṇvaye. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 77.

2. Ibid. p. 78.

3. Scholars in general held that the unspecified era in which the grants of the dynasty are dated should be taken to be the Kalacuri Era. Ibid. pp. 75-76

Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, it may be assumed that the line was founded in 330 (K.E.), A.D. 580. The Umsta,⁴ Bagumra⁵ and Ilao⁶ grants dated in S.S. 400, 415 and 417 respectively, open the chapter of their history a century earlier. But their very genuineness is doubtful. Their characters, wording of the formal parts and the method in which the dates are expressed entirely differ from the genuine grants of the dynasty. Over and above this, the Ilao grant seems to be written by the same Reva who wrote the two Kaira grants of 380 (K.E.), 629 A.D., and 385 (K.E.), 634 A.D.⁷ These glaring discrepancies coupled with the fact that we hear of the Gurjaras for the first time in the last two decades of the sixth century A.D., when they are said to have been harassed by Prabhākara⁸ vardhana, lend weight to the contention that they are forgeries and it was only in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. that Bhrgukaocha

4. Ibid., Vol. VII, pp 61-66

5. Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 183.

6. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp 115-119; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, p. 19

7. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 72; see, however, the opinion of Dr. Bühler, Ibid., XVII, pp. 186-91.

8. Harṣa -charita, N.S. Edn., 1937, p. 120

came into their possession.

It. Bhagwanlal Indraji, on the mere expression "Nāndīpurītaḥ" or from the city of Nāndīpurī in the Kaira grants, avers that Nāndīpurī was their capital.⁹ But most of the villages referred to in their grants are in the present Broach District. Thus, on the ground that the Kaira grants were issued from Nāndīpurī, we can hardly assume that it was their capital. Bhṛgukaccha, since remote times, has ^{been} ~~been~~ an important place and it would perhaps be not wide of the mark if we take it as the seat of their power.

Their domain with Bhṛgukaccha as its nucleus included the whole of central Gujarat and the northern part of southern Gujarat which may roughly comprise the present Broach district, the Talukas of Olpad, Chorasi and Sardoli of the Surat district, as well as the adjoining parts of the Baroda State, of the Kevākāntḥā and of Sāchīn. The river māhī probably formed its northern frontier and the river Ambikā the southern one.¹⁰ ^{Yuan Chwang's} ~~Hsueh Tsing's~~ account of Po-lu-kie-ch'e-l'o that it was 2400-2500 ^{li} ~~li~~ or about 400¹¹ miles in circuit seems to be very vague.

9. Ind. Ant. XIII, p. 72.

10. Ibid. XVII, p. 193; Bomb. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 315; Ibid, pt. I, p. 115.

11. Siyuki, Vol. II, p. 249 (Beal)

The Gurjara-kratihāras of Bhrgukaccha were
¹²feudatories. To whom they owed allegiance is not
 appar^ent. The date 580 A.D. assigned to Dadda I so well
 corresponds with that of Dadda, the youngest son of
 Haricandra-the founder of the Gurjara-kratihāra dynasty,¹³
 that the two may be identified. The statement in the grants¹⁴
 that their forefather saw light in the lineage of the
 Gurjara kings - "Gurjaranṛpativamśa", lends further weight
 to the proposed identification, for we know of no other
 Gurjara kings in this period except those of Māṇḍavyapura.
¹⁵Probably Rajjila created a feudatory principality in the south
 under his younger brother Dadda, evidently as a bulwark
 against the waxing strength of the Valabhis and the
¹⁶Cālukyas. It is just possible that after being subdued by

12. Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 81-87; Ibid., pp. 88-91; Ibid., p. 77.

13. See ante, p. ¹²20.

14. Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 82, 88.

15. One of the sons of Haricandra of Māṇḍavyapura, Ep. Ind.,
 XVIII, p. 95; See ante, p. ¹⁶27.

16. J. of the Dept. of Letters (Cal. University),
 1923, Vol. X, p. 16.

the prowess of Kulakesi II¹⁷ they acknowledged his suzerainty. It cannot, however, be asserted definitely, for in ancient India the vanquished were sometimes allowed to govern their territories after defraying the war indemnity.¹⁸

Dadā I : These feudatories appear to have (c.580-605 A.D.) :

played a unique role in the history of Bhrgukaccha. Dadā I uprooted the hostile family of the Nāgas who were probably the members of the jungle tribes ruled by Nirihullaka,¹⁹ and nipped in the bud some of the family jealousies and quarrels which were gaining ground during his regime.²⁰ His sway perhaps extended upto the foot of the Vindhya, for the land lying around the Vindhya are represented as his pleasure resorts.²¹

17. Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 242.

18. Bom. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 315; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 194; Ibid., XIII, p. 173.

19. Bomb. Gaz., I, pt. I, p. 115; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 195.

20. Ibid., XIII, pp 83, 84.

21. Ibid. Dr. Bühler opines that as the Vindhya hills end in the neighbouring Malava, Dadā probably added a piece of this country for a time to the dominions of the Gurjaras.

Ibid. XVII, p. 195

We lack a detailed account of this interesting figure. The later inscriptions of his family describe him as a 'Sāmanta'²² (feudatory). He was a devout worshipper of the Sun. The fragmentary grant of the year 346 (A.D. 595-96)²³ may be ascribed to him.²⁴

Jayabhata I alias : He was succeeded by his son
Srivitaraga :
(c.605-629 A.D.) :

Jayabhata I. The Kaira grants²⁵ attribute to Jayabhata a sweeping victory over his enemies. The latter are not specifically mentioned. The spurious inscriptions, Umeta, Bagumra and Ellao, however, give us a clue. They tell us that Jayabhata "made expeditions in the jungles on both the shores (of the gulf of Kambay), just as the elephants roam in the forests growing both on the shores of the

22. Ibid. XIII, pp. 82.88

23. ----- dinakara-carana kamala-pranama. Ibid.

24. Ep. Ind., Vol, II, p. 19.

25. bhiru (rū) pa-

vadanah saklovadanyah prabala-ripu-bal-anika-
samara-samavapta-vijaya-Srih Sri-vitaraga ----.

Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 83, 89

26

western and eastern oceans". It alludes in all probability to wars in Gujarat and Kathiawad waged against the Valabhis who may have ^{been} ~~been~~ the enemies put to rout by the superior forces of Jayabhata I ²⁷.

He ~~was~~ was also instrumental in extending his kingdom. He fought with the Kaṭaccuris. The war appears to have resulted in the overthrow of the latter and the extension of the Gurjara principality south of the Māhī.

Dadda II alias : Jayabhata was succeeded by his
Pradāntarāga :
(c. 629-654 A.D.) : son, Dadda II, whose first ^{known} ~~known~~
date is 629 A.D. (K.E. 380). These ^{were} ~~were~~ the palmy days of the
Cālukyas, whose king, Kulakeśi II, had struck terror far and
wide by the force of his arm. Like others, the Gurjaras

26. Ibid., VII, p. 65; Ibid., XVII, pp 199-200; Ibid., XIII, pp. 116-117; see also the different readings and translations of the lines - " tayanidhi-kṛta-ubhaya-tata-prarūḍhadha (va) na-lekh(ā) viprahṛta-niramīkusa-dāna-pravāha-niramīkusa-dana-pravaha-pravṛta-digdanti-vibhrama-guṇa samūhah".

J.B.B.R.A.S., X, p. 25

27. Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 194.

~~27~~ Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 81-87.

also succumbed to the prowess of Kulikēśi'. Perhaps, it was the first setback for Dadda II in the very beginning of his reign. As referred to elsewhere, we cannot ascertain his subsequent relations with Kulikēśi II.

The Nausari copperplate informs us that Dadda II gave protection to the lord of Valabhī, Dhruvasena II or

28. "Pratāp-opanata yasya Lātā-Mālava-Gurjjarah
dandopanata-sāmanta caryyā varvyāivabhavan. Ibid.,
p. 262. Dr. R.C. Majumdar identifies the Gurjjaras
with those of Chhillamāl (Ep. Ind. XVIII, p.92).
We have nothing positive to ~~show~~^{show} that Kulikēśi led
expeditions in Northern India as far as Gurjaratrā.
The word stands for the Gurjjaras of Āṇḍikaccha.

Dr. V.A. Smith's assertion that Brahmagupta's
patron, Vyāghramukha, apparently must be identical
with the unnamed Gurjara king, who was defeated by
the Cālukya monarch Kulikēśi II, is ~~also~~^{also} untenable
J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 926,

29. Paramāvara-Srī Harṣadevābhībhūta-Valabhīpati-pati
(ri) trāṇ-~~op~~ajāta bhramad-adabhra-subhr-ābhra-
vibhrama-yaso-vitānah Srī Daddas".

Ind. Ant., XIII, p.77.

Dharasena ³⁰IV, who was defeated by the great lord, the
 illustrious Harṣadeva. ³¹As this event is not recorded in
 the Kaira grant of the year 385 (K.E.) = 634 A.D., it must
 have taken place sometime after 634-35 A.D. We do not know
 how long such friendly relations with Valabhī lasted.
 Dharasena IV is represented issuing grants in 648 A.D. from
 the victorious camp situated at Bhṛgukaccha. It may indicate
 a war between the Gurjara king and Dharasena IV and the
 severance of cordial relations. ³²It may ^{also} mean, as
 suggested by Dr. Fleet, ³³that the grants were issued while

(Contd. from the previous page)

Dadda I of the Nausari plate should be identified with
 Dadda II of the Kaira grants. Jayabhata III's first
 known date is 456 and calculating backwards at the rate
 of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 381
 as the date of the first Dadda of ^{the} Nausari copperplate.
 This date corresponds with that of Dadda II of the Kaira
 grants, ^{and} ~~and~~ the two may, therefore, be identified. See
 Ibid., p.72.

30. See Dr. Buhler's identification, Ibid., XVIII, p.196
 31. Ibid; Ibid, XIII, p. 74.
 32. Ibid, XVIII, p. 196.
 33. Fleet: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p.316.

Dharasena IV was residing at Bhrgukaccha, enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king, for the villages that were granted lay not in the Gurjara country but in the Khetakāhāra-visaya.

Further, we learn from inscriptions that Dadda II had obtained the five great titles (pañcamahāśabda³⁴).

He seems to have been a worshipper of the Sun, for both he and his brother, Ranagraha, sign their grants as devout worshippers of the Sun³⁵.

Jayabhata II : We do not get much information
(c.654-79 A.D.) : regarding his son, Jayabhata II, ^{who} ~~who~~
is described as a war-like prince in the Nausari copperplate

34. Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 83, 89-90; Ep. Ind., V, p. 39. The Umeta, Bagumra and Ilao grants address him as "Mahārājādhirāja" (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 63; Ibid., XVII, p. 299; Ibid., XIII, p. 117). They also mention his another title "Samadhi nta pañcamahāśabda", which indicates that he was a feudatory. (For the explanation of pañcamahāśabda, see J.R.A.S., (G.S.), 1864, p. 280, fn. 1; J. of the American Oriental Soc., Vol. VI, p. 540.

35. Ep. Ind., II, pp. 20-21.

of Jayabhata III. ³⁶ Probably it was during his reign that the Cālukya Jayasimhavarman took south Gujarat and drove away the Gurjaras ³⁷ north of the Tāpti.

Dadda III alias ³⁷ Jayabhata II was succeeded by his son Dadda III. ³⁸
 Bahusahāya III : We learn from the Naudari copperplate
 (c. 679-704 A. D.) : that he obtained the five great titles
 (Samadhigatapāñcamahāśabda). He worshipped Śiva &
 (Karammāheśvara). ³⁹ It was to his credit indeed that "the
 society was properly regulated according to Varnāśrama-
 dharma" during his regime.

He popularised his name Bahusahāya by displaying
 his strength in the wars waged against the kings of the east
 and the west, ⁴⁰ who were the Cālukya sovereign of Badami or

36. Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 77

37. Ibid., p. 78.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Prācya-pratīcy-adhirāja-

vijimbhita-mahā-saṁgrāma-narapati-sahasra-
 parivāti (ri)t-ānēka-gaja-ghaṭa-vighatana-
 prakatita-bhuja-vīryya-vikhyāta-bāhusahāya-
 āpara-nāma.

Ibid., pp. 77-78.

some ruler of Mālava and the lord of Valabhī respectively.⁴¹

Jayabhata III : Dadda's son, Jayabhata III,
(c.705-6-735-36 A.D.) :
"quieted in battle the
impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,"⁴² who was either
Śilāditya V or Śilāditya VI. Presumably he allied himself
with the Gujarat Cālukya Mangalaras to seize the continental
districts from the Valabhī king.⁴³

We learn from the Kavi copperplate, dated 486
(K.E.) = 736 A.D., that Jayabhata III ~~assumed~~^{assumed} the title of
Sāmāntādhipati-lord of barons.⁴⁴ In addition, the Kavi and
Nausari copperplates inform us that he obtained the five
great titles.⁴⁵ We may, therefore, conclude that he was ~~also~~^{also} a
feudatory.⁴⁶ His love of art and patronage to Pandits shed
lustre on court. He was a devotee of Śiva.⁴⁷

41. Som.G-z.I, pt.II, p. 16; Ind. Ant., XVII, p.198

42. krtosti asidhārājaleṇa śamita prāsabham
Valabhīpateryude. Ibid, V, p. 113.

43. Dr. A.S.Altakar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas & their Times, p.32.

44. Ind. Ant., V. p. 114.

45. Pañcamahāśabda, Ibid; Ibid, XIII, p. 78

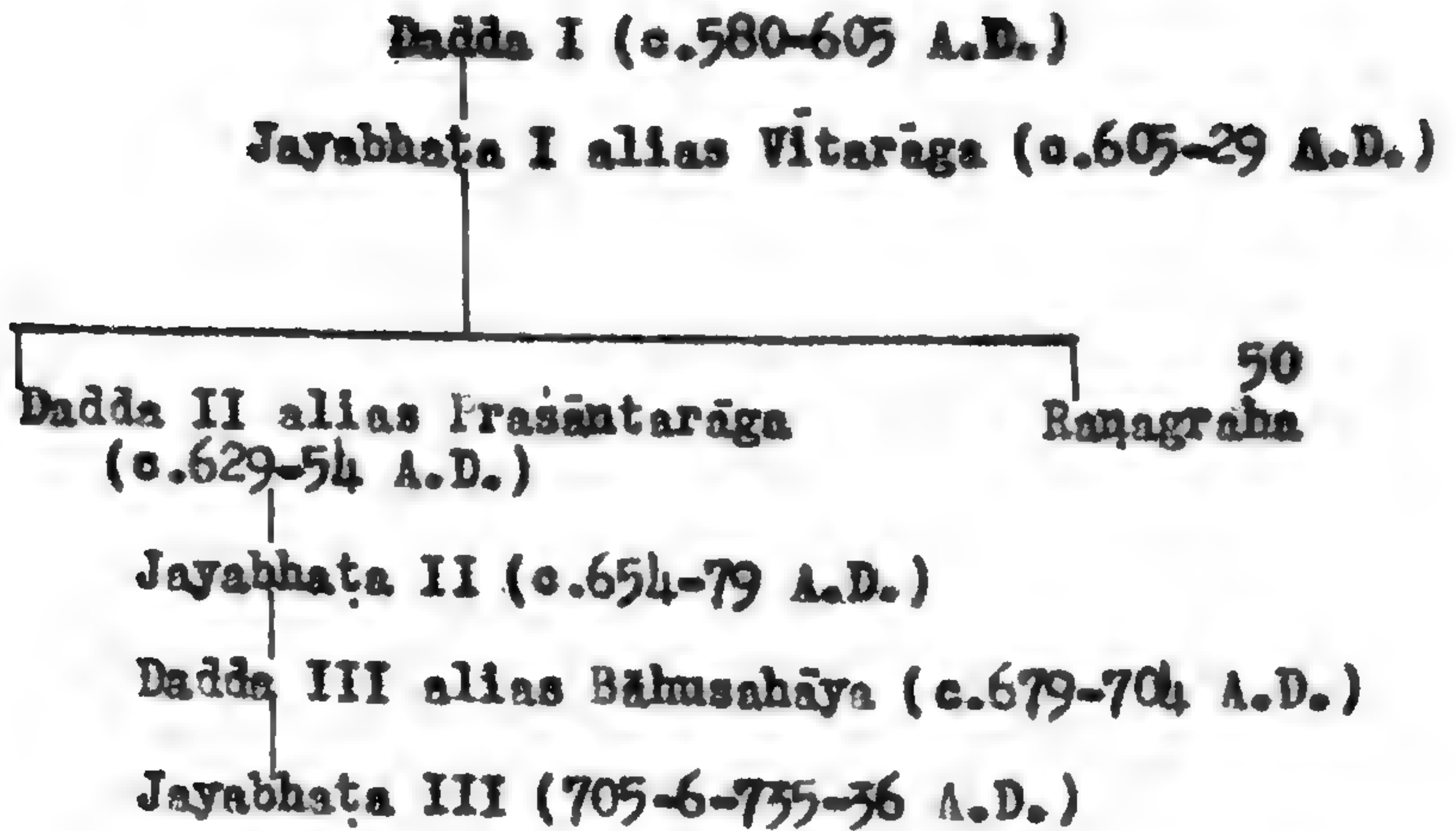
46. Ibid., V, pp.113-114.

47. Paramamahāśvarah, Ibid, XIII, p. 78

In his reign occurred the great invasion of the Arabs. Jumaid, the general of Khalif Hashem, sent his officers to Marmad, Mandai, Baras (⁴⁸Broach), and other places, and conquered Bailman and Jurs. As Hashem's reign-period ranges from 724 A.D. to 743 A.D., we may safely assume that the expeditions were made ^{some time} ~~sometime~~ after 724 A.D. and prior to 743 A.D. These expeditions proved disastrous to the Gurjaras of Bhrgukasa and probably accelerated their downfall.

48. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 126; Tran. of the Vienna Ori. Congress, Ori. Sec., p. 231.

Genealogical Table



49. Kaira grants, Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 81-87; 88-91; Mansari copperplate, Ibid., pp. 70-81.

50. Sankheda copperplate, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 20-21

CHAPTER IV.

THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS IN MALAVA.

A branch of the Gurjara-Pratihāras occupied Mālava. Avanti, the cockpit of the time, became their seat of power. A passage in the colophon to the Jain Harivaṃśa bears out that the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja, prior to the terrific attack of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhāravarsha, were at Ujjain. Commenting on this passage Dr. Fleet observed that the work was finished in Śaka-samvat 705 (expired) = A.D. 783-84, when there were reigning in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamāna-pura, ^{which} ~~which~~ is to be identified with the modern Wadhwan in the Jhalavad division of Kathiawad—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the

-
1. Śakeśv-abdaśateṣu saptaśu diśāṃ pañcottareṣūttarām,
Pāti-Indrāyudha-nāmmi Kṣaṇanṛpaḥ Śrīvallabhe dakṣiṇām.
Pūrvām Śrīmad-Avanti-bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatśā-dirāḥ-paraṃ,
Sauryaṇām-adhimandale Jayayuto vīre varṣhe-vati.

(Stanza 51)

Bom. Gaz. 1896, Vol. I, pt. II, p.197, fn.2; Ind.

Ant., XV, pp.141-42.

territory of the Sauryas²." This Vatsarāja of Avanti has been identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of the same name, referred to in the records of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja. We may, therefore, conclude that the predecessors of Vatsarāja were ruling at Avanti and not at Śrīmālā³ or Jāvalipura⁴ as suggested by some scholars. Support for this view ~~may~~ further be found in

2. Fleet, Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 195-96; Dr. Hoernle, J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 644; Dr. R.C. Majumdar, J. of the Dept. of Letters (Cal. University), Vol. X, pp. 23-25; Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest, p. 225; Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar at first called in question this interpretation but later on changed his views. J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, p. 421, fn. 4, Ep. Ind. Vol., XVIII, p. 239; see, however, Smith, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 253; Sten Konow, Ep. Ind. XII, p. 200; R.D. Banerjee, Mem. As. Soc. Beng., V, pt. III, p. 50; D.R. Sharma, A.B.O.R.I., XVIII, 1937, pp. 396-398; J.C. Ghosh, I.H.Q., VII, 1931, pp. 753-56.
3. Dr. Smith, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 57; Early Hist. of India, 4th edn., p. 393, Sten Konow, Ep. Ind., XII, p. 201.
4. D. Sharma, A.B.O.R.I., XVIII, 1937, pp. 396-98.

the Sanjan copperplates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. we are told in the copperplates that when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga performed the Hiraṇyagarbhadāna ceremony at Ujjain, the Gurjara lord (Gurjareśa) acted as his door-keeper.⁵ It is not unreasonable to assume that the Gurjara lord was reduced to the position of a door-keeper in his own capital to create an impression. In addition,⁶ the special mention of the Gurjara among the princes compelled to do homage and the play on the word Pratihāra, suggests that he was the chief then ruling over the territories of Ujjain.⁶

Nāgabhaṭa I : Vatsarāja's family began well under
(c.733.56 A.D.) :
Nāgabhaṭa I. We do not know his exact date of accession. A conjecture may, however, be hazarded. The first known date of Vatsarāja is 783-84 A.D.⁷ Assuming twenty-five years as an average for each generation that preceded

5. Hiraṇyagarbham rājanyairujjayinyāṁ yadāsitaṁ,
Pratihārīkṛtaṁ yena Gurjjareśādirājakaṁ,

Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 243.

6. Dr. R. S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest, p. 227.

7. See ante, p. 32.
42.

** See Genealogical Table, p. 125-142.

him, we arrive at 733 A.D. which may be assigned to Nāgabhata I.

We are told in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I that Nāgabhata I crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha King.⁸ These hosts in all probability were the Arab forces that were then sweeping down the western borders of India. Al Biladuri observes that whereas other places were conquered by the officers of Junaid,⁹ they simply made incursions against Uzain. Uzain is no doubt the same as Ujjain. Evidently it is a tacit admission of their failure against the king of Ujjain, a reminiscence of whose victory is preserved in the Gwalior inscription. It may further be pointed out that the Nausari plates of Avanijanāśraya¹⁰ Pulakeśirāja, dated 738-9 A.D., do not refer to the king of Avanti among those who were defeated by the Arabs.

With this preliminary success against the Arabs,

8. Yen-āsan sukṛta pramāthi-va(ba)llavan-Mlecchādhip-ākṣhaṇṇih. Ep. Ind. AVIII, p. 107.

9. See ante, pp. 35, 40, Elliot; Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 126.

10. Tran. of the Vienna Ori. Cong., Ori. Sec. p. 231.

we may assume that Nāgabhaṭa I must have striven with all his might to drive them away from the Indian borders. Perhaps it was because of such vigorous drive of the Indian rulers that the Arabs during the time of Junaid's successor Tamim "retired from several parts of India and left some other positions".

Almost at the same time when Nāgabhaṭa I was laying the foundations of the future greatness of his family, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came into prominence in the South. A conflict between the two rising powers seems to have become inevitable. We learn from records that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga

10. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 126.

12. cf. Ellora Daśavatāra cave inscription, Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circle, V, p. 68, verse 23; Smangad plates, Ind. Ant. XI, pp. 111 ff, lines 21-22; Begumra plates of Ind. III, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 24 ff.

Kielhorn appears to assign the Ellora Daśavatāra cave inscription to the reign of Amoghavarsha I, (Ibid, VII Appendix, p. 13) but this view is untenable. The record does not refer to any king later than Dantidurga but merely supplies Śarva as an epithet of that king. "This becomes quite clear from an analysis of the record. V 23 describes Dantidurga's victory over the rulers of Lāṭa, Mālva, Badari, etc. V. 24 compares him to a number of gods (contd. on the following page -

subjugated the rulers of Kāncī, Kalinga, Śrīśaila, Kośala, Mālava, Lāṭa, Taṅka, and Sindh. It is reasonable to conclude that Nāgabhaṭa I was defeated. As referred to

(Continued from the previous page)

according to the usual notions on that subject, and V.25 after describing his bravery concludes with the line :-

"Bībhatsurdustānāgo jayinamiva param Śrīmahārājaśarvaḥ" // 'Sri Mahārāja Śarva was terrible like a mad elephant to the enemy who was ambitious of conquest'.

Then immediately follows the line - "Datan^t yono-jjayinyānapi nrpatimahādānamāścaryabhūtan" / 'Who had made in Ujjayini in a wonderful way the great gift proscribed for kings'.

This evidently refers to the Hīṣanyagarbhadāna ceremony which Dantidurga had performed at Ujjain (see ante, p.³⁹ 43). It is, therefore, clear that Mahārāja Śarva who is referred to in verse 25 of the Daśavatāra cave inscription must be obviously Dantidurga, whose exploits are the topic of eulogy from verse 23. "If we assume that it is Amoghavarsha I and not Dantidurga who is referred to in the last line of V.25 which refers to king Śarva, we shall have to suppose that the record

elsewhere Dantidurga reduced the Gurjara lord to a subordinate rank and made him publicly attend on him as a door-keeper (Pratihāra) at the Hiranyagarbha ceremony¹³ at Ujjain.

(continued from the previous page)

passes over, entirely unnoticed, as many as four rulers, viz., Kṛṣṇa I, Govinda II, Dhruva and Govinda III. This is extremely improbable, since the author of the Daśāvatāra inscription has devoted several verses to describe the imaginary careers of the predecessors of Dantidurga. He would have waxed ten times eloquent in describing the all-India exploits of Dhruva and Govinda III. Buhler, who had edited the record, had realised that the king Śarva could not be identified with Amoghavarsha I; he had proposed to regard him as a brother or a minister of Dantidurga. This view, however, overlooks the fact that verse 25 describes the Mahādāna ceremony of Śarva as something which other kings could not have thought of emulating, even in dream. This statement would have been altogether inappropriate and wide of the mark, if Śarva were a younger brother or a minister of Dantidurga. To conclude, the last ruler mentioned in this record is Dantidurga Śarva and

(Contd. on the following page-

How long this state of dependance and humiliation continued is not known even from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. Nāgabhata appears to have tried to retrieve the fortunes of his family. We are told in the Hansot plates, dated V.S. 813 = 756 A.D., that the Cahamāna feudatory Bhartrvaddha¹⁴ II made a grant of the village Arjunadevīgrāma situate in the Akṛāreśvara-ṣaṣaya (Ankleswar Taluqa) to the brāhmaṇa Bhattabhūta "in the reign of increasing victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka", who has been rightly identified with Nāgabhata I by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.¹⁵ It is not unreasonable to assume that after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace was over Nāgabhata started on a career of conquest and carried his arms as far as Bhṛgukaccha.

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therefore the record may well be a contemporary document.

But as it is incomplete, one cannot be positive on the point". Dr. A. S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.34-35, fn. 12.

13. See ante, p.³⁹43; see also Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Uttara-Parvāṇa, Ch: 176, for the Mahādāna called Hiraṇyagarbha.
14. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp.203, 204
15. Ind. Ant., 1911, p.240; Ep. Ind., XIII, p.200

Kakustha: Nāgabhaṭa I appears to have been succeeded by Kakustha, one of the two sons of his unnamed brother. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I informs us that Kakustha¹⁶ 'added to the renown of the family'. He was also known as Kakkuka (i.e., one who always laughs) 'on account of his habit of saying welcome things in an inverted manner'¹⁷.

Devarāja or Devaśakti: Kakustha was succeeded by ~~him~~ his younger brother Devarāja or Devaśakti. The latter seems to have maintained the boundaries of his dominions intact, for we are told in the Gwalior inscription that Devarāja "curbed a multitude of kings (bhūbhṛt) by having destroyed their powerful allies (pakṣaḥ) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (gati)"¹⁸. We further learn from records that Devarāja was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (parama viṣṇava)¹⁹.

16, ---- kalita-kula-yaśāḥ khyāta-kākustha ----.

Ibid, XVIII, p. 107.

17. ----- pratika-priya-vacanataya Kakkukah Kasmābhrid-iśāḥ.

Ibid.

18. Śrīman-asy-ānujannā kulisa-dhara-dhurān-udvahan-Devarājo
Yajñe (yajñe) - cchhinn(cchhinn)-oru-paksha-kshapita-
gati kulam bhūbhṛtām sanniyantā/5/ Ibid, pp. 107-108.

19. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112; B/ Ibid., p. 140.

Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 183.

Vatsarāja : His son and successor Vatsarāja,
(c. 783-84-795 A.D.) :

begotten on Bhūyikādevī, was ruling in the year 783-84
20

A.D. The Gwalior inscription informs us that Vatsarāja
forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the famous
Bhandi clan, "hardly to be overcome by reason of the
21
rampart made of infuriated elephants". The identification
of this clan is a source of controversy. We know no other
Bhandi except one who is referred to in the Harṣa-carita.
But we do not know what happened to him and where he
established his authority. Probably the Bhandi clan stands
22
for the Bhatti clan, referred to in the Jodhpur inscription

20. See ante, pp. 37-38.
42-43.

21. Khyā (tād-Bhandi)-

kulān-mad-otakata-karṣi-prākāra-durllanghato
yah sāmrajyayadhiya (sāmrajyan-adhiya) karmuka-
sakhā saṁkhye haṭhād-agrahīt----- //

Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 108

22. See Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim
Conquest, p. 229; Dr. A. S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas
and Their Times, p. 56; J.I.H., Vol. XXII, 1943,
p. 98.

of Bāuka. If this identification is accepted, we may infer that Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā or Central Rajputana. This seems to be borne out by the ²³Osia and ²⁴Daulatpur inscriptions. We are told in the former that it was engraved during the reign of Vatsarāja. The latter informs us that Vatsarāja granted a village in the Dendavānaka-viṣaya of the Gurjaratrā-bhūmi.

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown, Vatsarāja appears to have tried conclusions with the king of Gauda. We are told in the Wani-Dindori ²⁵and ²⁶Radhanpur grants of the Rāṣṭrakūtas that Vatsarāja had become "intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty (of the country of) Gauda that he had acquired with ease" ^{and} ~~and~~ that his fame had "reached the confines of the regions". It cannot, however, be pointed out definitively where the two armies came in clash. The Prthvirāja-Vijaya may give us some information. We are told in the Prthvirāja-Vijaya that Durlabharāja Cāhamāna of Śakambharī enjoyed ²⁷the Gauda land.

23. ~~Rep. A. S. I. (Western Circle), 1906-7, pp. 15-36.~~

J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 1010.

24. Ep. Ind., V, pp. 208-13.

25. Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 161.

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 243 verse 8.

27. Prthvirāja-Vijaya, Verse 20.

Durlabharāja's son Gūvaka was honoured in the court of
Nāgāvaloka, the son and successor of Vatsarāja.²⁸ It is not
unreasonable to assume that Durlabharāja accompanied
Vatsarāja in his campaign against the king of Gauda. It
may, thus, be inferred that the king of Gauda was defeated
somewhere in his own land and the Pṛthvīrāja-Vijaya
ascribes the glory of enjoying the Gauda land to
Durlabharāja Cāhamāna.²⁹

A controversy centres round the identification
of Gauda.³⁰ It appears that there were more than one Gauda.
But the point at issue is, which is that famous kingdom of
Gauda referred to in the records of the eighth century A.D.
With the data at hand it can safely be assumed that Gauda
stands for Bengal. The Pāla kings of Bengal are called
Gaudaśvara in their records whereas the rulers of no other
province are as yet known to have assumed of this title.

28. Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp.121, 126 and notes; See also
p.64.

29. See, however, Dr. R.S. Tripathi: His. of Kanauj to
to the Muslim Conquest, p. 230.

30. J.R.A.S., 1905, pp.163-64; Ibid., 1906, p.442.

In addition, the recently discovered Harṣha inscription bears out that Bengal was referred to in the inscriptions as Gauda as early at least as the middle of the sixth century A.D., for we have a verse with reference to Īśānvarman which runs as follows - 'Kṛtā ca yatimocitasth-³¹ alabhuvo Gaudān samudrāśrayān.' As the Gaudas are said to have taken the shelter of the sea, Gauda here can only refer to Bengal which has a seacoast.³² The Pālas of Bengal had established a strong monarchy in the east. The rising ambitions of the two appear to have contributed to their conflict.

The relations of the Pālas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras seem to have become amicable after the trial of strength. We are told in the Khalimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla that the king of Avanti approved of the installation of Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj as a nominee of Dharmapāla.³³ Perhaps Vatserāja had made this diplomatic alliance to ward off the Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace. But he does not seem to have effectively resisted the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. We learn from the ~~Wani-Dindori and Radhanpur~~ *the Wani-Dindori and Radhanpur*

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 117

32. See, however, Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 286

33. Ibid, IV, pp. 243-54

grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas that Dhruva Dhārāvarsha "by his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert Vatsarāja, who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of the royalty of Gauḍa, in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gauḍas two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn^{moon} ~~noon~~, but his own fame that had spread to the confines of the regions³⁴".

Vatsarāja appears to have taken refuge in the inhospitable tracts of Rajputana, where, as referred to elsewhere, he had already established his supremacy. We learn from the Kuvalayamāla³⁵ that Vatsarāja was ruling at Jāvālipura (Jhalor). It is not unreasonable to assume that after the northern expedition of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvarsha, Vatsarāja made Jāvālipura his capital

श. (Helā) svī(kṛ)ta-Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattam praveśy-
ācirāt

durmārgam maru-madhyam-aprativa(ba)lair-ye Vatsarājam
va(ba)lai (h)/

Gauḍīyam śaradindu-pāda-dhavalam śchatra-dvayam kevala(m)
tasmān-n-ānṛṣṭa tad-yaśo-pi kakubhām-prānte sthitam tat-
kṣhanāt-/8/, Ibid., VI, p. 243; Ind. Ant., XI, p. 161.

35. cf. Kuvalayamāla, Verse 21.

and organised raids to recover his lost territories.³⁶

36. What relation the Gurjara-Pratihāra^as of Mālava ^{bo}re to the Māṇḍavyapura family of the Gurjara - Pratihāras is unfortunately not known from the records. The common mythical relation with Lakshmaṇa and the community of names, such as Kakūka, Hāgabhaṭa and Bhoja, in the two families may indicate that the Gurjara - Pratihāras of Mālava were merely an off-shoot of the Māṇḍavyapura family. See Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 90

~~See Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII. p. 90.~~

CHAPTER V.

THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS AS IMPERIAL POWER IN NORTHERN INDIA.

Nāgabhaṭa II : Vatsarāja was succeeded by his son
(c. 795-833 A.D.) :

Nāgabhaṭa. We do not know his exact date of accession.

The Manne (802 A.D.)¹ and Nausari (805 A.D.)² plates allude

1. Sewall: The Historical inscriptions of Southern India, p. 32; Ep. Carnatica, IX, No. 61. The Manne copperplates of Stambha are dated 13th Nov. 802 A.D. according to Sewall (The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 33). The draft used in the Manne plates is exactly the same as in the Radhanpur plates. But the genuineness of the Manne plates has been questioned by Prof. Mirashi (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 215f.). However, he admits that there are no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Manne plates to be genuine. Dr. Barnett is of the opinion that the Manne plates are genuine, and this is supported by the fact that the alphabet of the inscription is fully in keeping with its date". See Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, Oct., 1951, No. 6, p. 60-70

2. I.H.Q., Vol. XX, 1944, pp. 72-75; Ep. Ind., XXII, p. 17; See also G.H. Khare: Sources of the Med. Hist. of the

to his struggle with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.³ It appears that he ascended the throne earlier than 802 A.D. We may, therefore, tentatively place his accession in c.795 A.D.

Nāgabhaṭa II seems to have struggled to retrieve the fortunes of his family. But he had to face the northern expedition of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III at the very outset of his career. We are told in the Sanjan copperplates of Imoghavarṣa I, dated Ś.S. 793 = 871 A.D., that Govinda III "carried away in battles ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ fair and unshakable fame of Nāgabhaṭa⁴". Bāhukadhavala, who was perhaps a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa, is credited with ^{having} ~~being~~ defeated one of the sections of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa⁵ army. This victory may have been

(Cont.^d from the previous page)

Dakkan, Vol. I, p.16.

3. See pp. ~~54-55~~ 54-55.

4. Sa Nāga -

bhaṭa Candragupta nṛpayor yaśauryam (yaśoryam)
raṇe savāharyampahārya dhairyam.

Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p.245; See also V.32, Ibid. p.246.

5. Ibid., Vol. IX, p.1ff; See also Dr. R.D. Banerji: Bāṅglār Itihāsa, p.167; Dr. A.S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, p.66, fn.50; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 106;

See, however, J.R.A.S. 1909, p.266; Ep. Ind., IX, p.3; R.Chand Gauda-rājanāla, p. 28.

a local success against the army of Indra, the Gujarat viceroy, for we are told in the Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala that Govinda III was victorious.⁶ It further informs us that Karkajāja,⁷ possibly a feudatory of Govinda, "caused Nāgavṛkṣa quickly to turn back" and the latter has been rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.⁸ Perhaps the Manna, Nausari,⁹ Radhanpur and Nilgund¹⁰ inscriptions refer to this war. We are told in the Radhanpur inscription that 'the μ Gurjara in fear (of ρ Govinda III) vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle.'¹¹ The Manna plates were issued in 802 A.D.¹² We may,

6. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 255, V. 14.

7. Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 240.

8. Ibid., pp. 239-40; Ep. Ind., Vol. 1X, p. 25

9. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 239-51.

10. Ibid., p. 102.

11. Gurjaro naṣṭaḥ kvāpi bhayāt tathā na samaram svanepi paśyet yathā. Ibid., pp. 244, 250, V. 15; see also Bühler's identification of the Gurjara king mentioned in the inscription. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 63.

12. See ante., pp. 52, fn. X 1.

therefore, conclude that the war was fought a few years before their date.¹³ Govinda III, however, continued to apprehend trouble. We learn from the Baroda copperplates of Karkarāja that Govinda "for the purpose of protecting Mālava ----- caused his (Karkarāja's) arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras"¹⁴.

It is reasonable to assume that after this defeat Nāgabhatta II must have taken some time to recover his strength. His campaign against the king of Kanauj is definitely a later event. A reminiscence of this campaign is preserved in the Malior (Sāgar-tal) inscription of Bhoja I. We are told that Nāgabhatta defeated Cakrāyudha, "whose lowly

13. See Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, Oct., 1951, No.6, pp.60-75; Ep. Ind., Vol.XXIII, p.217.

14. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp.160, 164.

* The Sanjan copperplates of Amoghavarṣa I, which refer to the ^{struggle} ~~strength~~ of Govinda III with Nāgabhatta (see ante, p. 53 ~~54~~), also inform us that Dharma and Cakrāyudha had surrendered to Govinda III. (Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp.245, 253, Verse 23). "Dharma and Cakrāyudha in this passage undoubtedly refer to the king of Kanauj and his ^{liege-} ~~legat~~

demeanor was manifest from his dependence on others¹⁵".

The Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla informs us that the
~~king~~ Pāla king Dharmapāla had placed one Cakrāyudha on
 the throne of Kanauj after wresting power from
 Indrāyudha.¹⁶ Presumably it was this very Cakrāyudha, ~~the~~

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lord". (See Dr. R S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the
 Muslim Conquest, p. 220). We may, therefore, conclude
 that Nāgabhatta attacked Kanauj after the northern
 expedition of Govinda III.

15. Jitvā par-āśraya-kṛta-sphuṭa-nīca-bhāvan/
 Cakrāyudham vinayanamravapurvyarājat//.....
 ~~Nirjita Vangapatimavirbhadvivasan/~~
 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 108

16. Jitvendrarajapra-hṛtinarātīn/
 Upārjitā yena Mahodayaśrīh//
 Dattā punassā
 Cakrāyudhāyāntivāminaya//

Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 305; See also

Bhojairmatsyaissamadraiḥ Kuruyaduyavanāvantigāndhāra-
 bhūpaiḥ/

..... sādhu sangīryamāṇah// Khalimpur grant
 of Dharmapāla, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. p. 248 ff.

who was dethroned by Nāgabhaṭa II. We may safely conclude that hereafter Kānyakubja¹⁷ became the seat of the Pratihāra power. The defeat of Cakrāyudha ^{must} ~~must~~ have been

17, The town of Kanauj lies in latitude 27°3' North and longitude 79°58' East in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh. The importance of Kanauja in ancient times was probably due to its strategic advantages. The city stood on a cliff on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, which was then the high way of commerce and communication, and it must have, therefore, been a convenient centre for river traffic in the upper Doab (see Samuel Beal, The Travels of Fa-Hsien (Fo-kuo-ki), ch. XVIII, p. ^{xliii} ~~xliii~~, Thomas Watters, on Yuan Chwang (Si-yu-ki), Vol. V/ I, (1904), p. 341; Bālarāmyana of Rājasekhara, Act. X, p. 506, ed. Govindadeva Śāstrī (Banaras, 1869). The river, however, now flows at a distance of ^{some} ~~some~~ miles to the east (see Gaz. of Farrukhabad, p. 217; Imp. Gaz. of India, XIV, p. 370). Besides, as observed by Cunningham, "the situation is a commanding one, ^{and} ~~and~~ before the use of the cannon the height alone must have made Kanauj a strong and important position". (Cunningham's Anc. Geog. of India, ed. S. N. Majumdar,

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a challenge to the king of Vaṅga whose ^śvaśal he was. The

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~~Ma-junder~~, (Cal. 1924), p. 436).

The Rāmāyaṇa of Valmīki and other works contain an amusing story, describing its foundation and how it got the name Kānyakubja, from which Kannauj is said to be a modern derivation. (Compare also: Kannoja-kila Kānyakubja-nagaraṁ aī rājadhānī purā (Kānyakubja-Mahākāvya, p.194). Moslem writers usually write Qannauj (see, e. g., Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p.39, ed. B. De). Fa-hian transliterates it as Ka-nao-yi or Kanoyi, and Thomas Watters is of opinion that it represents "the name which was probably in use among the natives" (Watters, I, p.341). The Prākṛit transliteration used by Rājasekhara is Kannaujja (Konow and Lanman, Karpūraṁjarī, III, 5., p. 74, Harvard Ori. Series, 1901). We are told that in early times there was a king named Kuśa, who married the daughter of the king of Vidarbha or Berar. He was blessed with four sons; (i) Kuśanābha, (ii) Kuśāmbha, (iii) Asūrtaraja and (iv) Vasu. Each of them, on being requested by the reigning monarch to protect the kingdom, founded a town after his own name. Of these, Kuśanā^ābha founde^ā

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king of Vanga appears to have taken the field against the

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a town called Mahodaya, meaning "of high prosperity".
 (Kuşānābhas tu dharmātmā puram cakre Mahodayam-
 Vālmiki Rāmāyana, Bālakāṇḍa, canto 32, v.6, Cal.1881).
 King Kuśānābha begot a hundred beautiful daughters
 by the celestial damsel Ghṛtāci (Kuşānābhas tu
 rājarsih Kanyāsatamanuttamam.
 Janayāmas dharmātmā Ghṛtācyām Raghunandana. Ibid.,
 Verse 11), and one day, when they were sporting
 together in the royal gardens, Vāyu (the wind god)
 became enamoured of their surpassing charms. He
 made an overture to marry all the hundred sisters,
 but was met with a scornful refusal. Their refusal
 further enraged the wind god to such an extent that
 he instantly changed them all into hunchbacks by his
 curses. From this circumstance (kanyānām kubjatvam)
 the city got its name Kānyakubja or Kanyākubja,
 meaning 'the city of hunchbacked maidens' (Yad
 Vāyuṇā ca tāḥ kanyāḥ tatra kubjakṛtā purā,
 Kānyakubjamiti, khyātam tataḥ prabhṛti tat puram-
 Vālmiki Rāmāyana, Bālakāṇḍa, canto 33, verses 34-35;

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Gurjara-ratihāras. We learn from the Gwalior (Sāgar-tal)

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Yuan Chwang narrates a similar story with minor variation (cf. Hatters, I, p.341; Beal, I, pp.207-09). See also Śiva Purāṇa, Dharmasamhitā, ch.11, Verses 39-52 (Cal. 1890); Kalhana's Rājataranginī, ed. Durgāprasāda (Bomb., 1892), Vol. I, Bk. IV, verse 133, (Stein's translation, p. 132); Dowson's Hindu Classical Dictionary (1914), pp.149, 344, etc.)

The ancient Hindu often used different names for the same place, and this laxity of nomenclature is perhaps nowhere so noticeable as in the case of Kanauj. Its most commonly recognised name was, of course, Kānyakubja or Kanyākubja or Kanyakubja (Compare: " Athokanya-kanyā-kānyabhyah kubjamityapi ..." (Kṛṣṇa's Kalpadrukoṣa, verse 16, p.10, Gaekwad's Ori. Series, No. XLII, 1926), or, cf. "Ekam Daratstryam ca Daradā Kanyakubjah Kuśasthalam Kanyākubjah Kōśalah Kosalopī ca" (Ibid., verse 22, p.6), which continues to occur in literature and inscriptions from the earliest to the latest period of its history. (See also for the

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stone inscription of Bhoja I that "having vanquished his

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forms-(i) Kanyakubja: Ind. Ant., XVIII, pp.13, 133;
 Kalhana's Rājataranginī, ed. Durga Prasad, Vol. I, Bk.
 I, verse 117 (Stein's Trans., p. 22); Bk. IV, v.145,
 (Stein, p. 134, etc.); (ii) Kānyakubja: Ibid., Bk. VIII, verse
 2453, (Stein, p. 191); Rāmāyana, ante; Mahābhārata, III,
 ch.116, v. 19; Padma Purāṇa, V, Sṛiṣṭi-khaṇḍa, ch.35,
 V.1; Harṣacarita, ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara (Cal.1892),
 p.125; Ep. Ind., I, pp.197, 203, V.3, etc; (iii) Kanyakubja:
 Ind. Ant., XVIII, pp.16, 18; Śiva Purāṇa, Dharmasmṛitā,
 ch.11, V.62; Ep. Ind., I, pp. 219, 222, v.22, etc). Next,
 we find mention of the name Mahodaya or Mahodayā, meaning
 'full of high prosperity'. That Kānyakubja and Mahodaya
 were names of one and the same city is testified by
 Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi (cf. Kānyakubjam
 Mahodayam, v. 39, p. 166), Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā
 (cf. Kanyakubjā Mahodayā, II, v. 132, p. 32), and other
 lexicons. (See also the Sabdārtharatna-sampravaya-koṣa,
 line 6, p. 79 (Gaskwad's Series, 1932); and the
 Vaijayantī of Yādevaprakāśa, ed. Gustav Oppert (1893),
 Bk. I, Sec. 4, V. 7, p.159, etc.).

Gādhīpura or Gādhīnagara was another name of

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enemy, the lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark,

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Kānyakubja in early times (Compare e.g., " Mahodayam
Gādhipuram ... " (Keśava's Kalpadrukoṣa, v.16, p. 10);

Śabdakalpadruma (Cal. 1889), Vol. II, p. 85; Kalhaṇa's
Rājataranginī, Vol. I, Bk.IV, v. 133, (Stein, p. 132);

The name Gādhinagara ^{also} occurs in the Gwalior Śāsbahū
inscription, see Ind. Ant., XV, pp.36, 41, V.6). It was
also known as Kuśasthala (cf. Kuśasthalam Kānyakubjam,
Abhidhāna-samgraha, II, (puravarga), v. 193, p. 9;

Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. II, p. 85; Harṣacarita, p. 603;

Cambay plates of Govinda IV, Ep. Ind., VII, p. 43;

Mahābhārata (F.C. Roy's Sanskrit text), V. Uddyogaparva,

Sec. 30, v. 19, etc.; see also "Kānyākubjam Gādhipuram

Kauśam Kuśasthalam ca tat", Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-sin-
tāmanī, v. 40, p. 166; Keśava's Kalpadrukoṣa, v. 16, p.

10, etc.).

Lastly, we learn from Yuan ^CChwang that

Kusumapura (Kau-su-mo-pu-lo) or 'the city of flowers'
was the original name, and it came to be invested with
the name of Kānyākubja ('city of hunchbacked maidens')

only after the curses of the 'great Tree Rishi' (Watters,
I, p. 341; Beal, I, p. 207). "Hindu authority in support

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dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty

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of this synonym is wanting, but such a name seems to have been fairly current in ancient times. Indeed, the pilgrim notes that Pāt^aliputra - the earlier Imperial city - bore the same name". (See Dr. R. S. Tripathi. Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest, p. 6. On the authority of certain Jain^c Chronicles of Gujarat Dr. V. A. Smith affirms that Kalyāna was another name of Kanauj (J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 768). The fact that 'Mahodaya' and 'Kalyāna' are almost synonymous words in Sanskrit, no doubt, lends ~~some~~^{some} support to this view. See also Buhler, Ind. Ant., VI, pp. 181, 183; D.R. Bhandarkar, J.^a.B.^a.R.^a.S., XXI, pp. 427-28).

There are indications that the title of Kānyakubja was not restricted to the city only, but also extended to the neighbouring territory, or even to the kingdom of which it was the centre. Yuan^c Chwang gives the name Ka-no-ku-she, i.e., Kānyakubja both to the capital and the country, ^{which} ~~which~~ he describes as being 4,000 li in circuit(²Wat²trās, I, pp. 340-41). Similarly, the Barah copperplate, dated V.S. 893 = 836 A.D., shows that both the names Mahodaya and Kānyakubja

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elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhaṭa who alone gladdens
 (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the
 rising Sun, the sole source of manifestation of the three
 worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible
 darkness¹⁸. The battle probably took place at Mudgaziri (Monghyr)¹⁹
 perhaps his feudatories, Śaṅkaragana, Bāhukadhavala and Kakka,²⁰
 assisted from him in his campaign against the king of Vāṅga.
 The Catsu inscription of Bālāditya²¹ informs us that Śaṅkaragana^{the Guhilot}

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were current when the plate was issued. The former was used
 for the capital city and the latter for a bhukti or province
 of the kingdom (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp.17,19)

18. Durvvāra-vairi-vara-vārena-vāji-vāṣa -

19. Yān-augha-saṅghaṭa-

na-ghora-ghan-āndhakāraṁ/

nirjjitya Vāṅgapatim-āvirabbhūd-vivasvān-

udyann-iva ttriṣṭagad-eka-vikāśako-yah//10//

Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp.108, 112.

19. See ante, pp.²⁰~~26-27~~, V.B. Mishra: The Gurjara-pratiḥāras
 of Gurjaratrā, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXXIII, p. 186

20. Ibid.

21. Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 10f.

"routed the king of Gauda, a great warrior (bhata), and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord"²². Śaṅkaragana seems to be a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, for his great-grandfather Dhanika appears to have been ruling in 725 A.D.²⁴ We are further told in the Una inscription of Avanivarman II²⁵ that Bāhukadhavala had defeated the king Dharma, who has been rightly identified with Dharmapāla of Vaṅga by Kielhorn.²⁶

Thus having subdued one of his powerful enemies, Nāgabhaṭa was able to extend the boundaries of his dominions.

22. Ibid., pp. 14-15; See also Dr. H. C. Ray: D.H.N.I, Vol. II, p. 1199.

23. J. of the Dept. of Lett., Vol. X, pp. 40-41; ^{also} See ~~also~~ Dr. H. C. Ray: D.H.N.I, Vol. II, p. 1199

24. ASI, WC, 1906, p. 61; Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 11-12; See also Dr. H.C. Ray: D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. ~~1199~~ 1198, fn. 2.

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 7.

26. Ibid., p. 3; J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 266.

we are told in the Gwalior (Sāgar-tal) stone inscription of Bhoja I that " the kings of Āndhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinga succumbed to his youthful energy as noxas do unto fire"²⁷. The simile may ~~show~~ ^{show} that Nāgabhatta did not fight with them but being impressed by his majesty and power they of their own accord joined him, though ultimately they lost their freedom. The Āndhra country extended ^{between} ~~between~~ the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, whereas Sindhu stands for the lower course of the Indus. Vidarbha and Kalinga were modern Berar and Orissa respectively.

We further learn from verse 11 of the Gwalior (Sāgar-tal) stone inscription of Bhoja I that Nāgabhatta forcibly seized the hill-forts of the kings of Ānarta,²⁸ Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya. These places and people may be identified with Northern Kathiawad, Central India, the wild tribes of either the Himalayan or other

27. -----
Yattr- Ā.

-ndhra-Saindhava-Vidharbha-Kalinga-bhūpaih

kaumāra-dhāmanī patāṅga-samair-apāti/8/

Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 108.

28. Ānarta-Mālva[^]-Kirāta-Turuṣka-Vatsa-

Matsya-ādi-rāja-giri-durgga-haṭhāpāṭiraiḥ//

Ibid.

ranges, the Arab settlements in Western India, the territory of Kauśāmbī and Eastern Rajputana respectively. We may, therefore, conclude that his suzerainty was established over all the regions from the east to the west and from the Himalayas to the Narmadā, excluding, of course, the north-western parts and the Kāla dominions.

His suzerainty was also acknowledged by the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. We are told in the Harṣa stone inscription of Viśraharāja that the Cāhamāna Gūvaka I was honoured in the court of Nāgāvaloka³⁰. This seems to be a polite way of expressing a feudatory rank. It may, therefore, be concluded that Nāgabhatta II was justified in assuming the full imperial titles of Karamabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara³¹.

29. Dr. Collins holds the view that the name Kirāta can only be regarded as one of the general terms for non-Aryan aborigines. See Geographical Data of the Raghuvansī and Daśakumāra-carita, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 8, 18.

30. Ālyah Śrī-Gūvakākhyā-prathita-narapat^īs Cāhamānānvayo ^{bhūt,} ^{v-} Śrīman-Nāgāvaloka-pravara-nṛpaśabhā-labdha-^{v-} Virapratisthah,
Ind. Ant. Vol. XLII, p. 61, v. 13; see also Ibid., 1911, p. 239.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX p. 199.

He appears to have reigned till V.S.890 (833 A.D.).
 We learn from the ³²Prabhāvaka-Catita that in the month of
 Bhādrapada in the year 890 (V.S.) he immersed in the holy
 waters of the ³³Gaṅgā and died. Our records inform us that
 he was a devout worshipper of Bhagavatī.

^A
 RĀMABHADRA (c.833.36 A.D.)
^A

Nāgabhatta II was succeeded by his son ^aRāmabhadra, also
 called Rāmad-va or Rāma. The reign of Rāmabhadra was a
 short one of about three years. A close study of the
 Dholatpur copperplate bears out that Gurjaratrā passed
 out of the hands of the Gurjara - Pratihāras of Kānyakubja
 during his reign. ³⁴Another event of his reign was perhaps
 his struggle with the ³⁵Kālas of Bengal. We are told in the
 Badal pillar inscription that "the lord of Gauda (Devapāla)
 scattered the conceit of the Gurjara lord." ³⁶This does not

32. Verses 720-22, p.177 (ed. by H.M. Sharma, Bomb., 1909);

Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 179, note.3.

33. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p.112; Ibid., p. 140; Ep. Ind., Vol.
 XIV, p. 183.

34. See ante, p. ²¹⁵27, V.B. Mishra: The Gurjara-Pratihāras of
 Gurjaratrā, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII, p. 187

35. See J. Dept. of Lett. Cal. Univ., Vol. X, 1923, p. 46

36. Kharvīkṛta—

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appear to have been a decisive contest. We ^{learn} ~~learn~~ from the Gwalior inscription that Rāmabhadra ^{with} the help of his subordinate kings, 'who had the best cavalry under their charge', 'forcibly bound down the haughty and cruel commanders of armies'.³⁷ We may, therefore, conclude that Rāmabhadra was at first defeated by the Rālas of Bengal but later on he invoked the good offices of his feudatory chiefs and inflicted a ³⁸ defeat upon the Rālas. We may further add that as he was fighting with the Rālas, his hands were not free to recover his lost territories in Gurjaratrā and Bundelkhand.³⁸

The Vaillabhatṭasvāmin (Gwalior) temple stone inscription informs us that Gwalior continued to be within his dominions, for Vaillabhatṭa acted as Maryādādūrya or Dhurodhikārī (chief of the boundaries) at Gwalior for³⁹ him.

(Contd. from the previous page) Gurjaranātha-darpan 131 Ep. Ind., II, p. 160; see also M.A.S.B., V, No. 3, p. 56; Ind. Ant., VII, p. 163, fn. 7.

37. ----- क्षत्रवर्द्ध ----- pravara-hari-vala (bala)-

nyasta-bhūbhṛt-pravaṇ-dhair

(pravandhair)-āvadhanam (ābadhanam) vāhinīnām prasabham -

adhipatin-uddhata-krūr-satvān ----- /12/

Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 108; See ^{also} ~~also~~ Ibid., p. 106

38. See ante, p. 65; See also p. 68.

39 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 156-157, Verse 7

The *Irabhāvaka-carita* tells us that Rāmabhadra was a dissolute man. He openly lived with a woman by name Kaṇṭikā. He spent his time with his mistress and neglected the affairs of the state. His son Mihira Bhoja, supported by the ministers, killed him and ascended the throne. It is difficult to lend countenance to this story, for Bhoja I at no other place is referred to as a parricide.

41
BHOJA I (c.836-889 A.D.)

We learn from records that Rāmabhadra was succeeded by his son Bhoja who is designated in the inscriptions by various names and titles. The Gwalior (Sagar-tal) stone inscription calls him by the personal name Mihira. In the Daulatpur copperplate, however, he is given the title of *Irabhāsa*, which means splendour, and perhaps refers to the name Mihira (the sun). Another title assumed by him in the Vaillabhattasvāmin (Gwalior) temple stone inscription and in certain coins of base silver was that of 'Ādivarāha',

40. F.aa., XI Verses 734, 109.

41. See Barah copperplate, dated V.S.893=836 A.D., Ep.Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

42. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 108, verse 15.

43. Ibid., Vol. V., pp. 212, 213, line 15.

44. See Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim

'showing that he posed to identify himself with the bear incarnation of Vishnu, although we are otherwise told that his predilections were towards the worship of the goddess Bhagavati.⁴⁶

The Barah copperplate,⁴⁷ dated V.S. 893-836 A.D., informs us that Bhoja renewed a grant in the Kālāñjara-maṇḍala which was originally sanctioned by Nāgabhata II but was disturbed ^{during} ~~during~~ the reign of Rāmahadra. We may conclude from this that he re-established Gurjara-Suzerainty over Bundelkhand. That Bundelkhand was included in the kingdom of Kānyakubja is further borne out by local traditions, which, though confused and discrepant,

(Contd. from the previous page)

Conquest, p. 238.

45. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 156; Also refer to the Ādivarāha type of coins, Smith: Cat. Col. Ind. Mus (Calcutta), Vol. I, pp. 232, 233, 241, 242; Cunningham: Coins of Med. Ind, pp. 49-50, plate VI, Nos. 20, 21.

46. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV., p. 112; Ibid., p. 140; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 183; See also Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest, p. 238.

47. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 15.

nevertheless yield this much of historical information that before the rise of the Candrātreyas (Candellas) the ^{country} ~~country~~ was in the possession of the Garjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja. Even Candrātreyas appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Garjara-Pratihāras, for the Pratihāra king Vināyakaśāla is referred to as a suzerain in the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhangā, dated V.S. 1011 = 954 A.D. ⁴⁹ We learn from the ⁵⁰ Banāras (Jodhpur) copperplate, dated V. S. 990 = 933 A.D., that Bhoja I revived a grant in the province of Garjatrī. This grant was made by Vatsarāja and it was subsequently sanctioned by his successor Śigandhaja II. Perhaps it had fallen in disuse during the short reign of Kṛṣṇaditya. We may, therefore, deduce from this revival of grant that Bhoja I restored the authority of his family over Garjatrī.

In the north Bhoja's sway extended up to the foot of the Himalayas. The later inscription of Ballabha informs us that the hill-people brought him tribute in the north and presented horses to Bhoja.

1. I.I.I.I., Pt. I, p. 32; III (1921), p. 1, 102.

2. I.I.I.I., Vol. I, p. 15.

3. I.I.I.I., I, p. 20.

4. I.I.I.I., Vol. III, p. 95, lines 15.

who has been identified with the illustrious Bhoja of
 Kānyakubja by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.⁵² We may on this claim
 and identification assume that Harṣarāja had fought these wa-
 rard on behalf of his suzerain Bhoja I. The Kahla plate⁵³
 of Sodhadeva further bears out the fact that Bhoja's
 suzerainty was acknowledged up to the foot of the Himalayas.
 From the Kahla plate we learn that Guṇāmbodhideva of the
 Kalacuri dynasty of Gorakhpur received some land from
 Bhojadeva⁵⁴ (Bhojadevāpta-bhūmiḥ). The latter has been
 rightly identified with the Pratihara king Bhoja I by Dr.
 Kielhorn.⁵⁵ That Guṇāmbodhideva was a contemporary of Bhoja I
 is further attested to by the fact that the inscription of
 the ninth successor of Guṇāmbodhideva is dated in V.g.
 1134 = 1077 A.D.^{**} Allowing twenty-five years for each
 generation that succeeded him, we may place Guṇāmbodhideva
 near about the middle of the 9th century A.D., when Kānyakubja
 was governed by Mihira Bhoja.

52. Ibid., p. 12.

53. Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 85-93.

54. Ibid., p. 89.

55. Ibid., p. 86, fn. 4.

** Ibid., pp. 85-93.

The Kahla copperplate further informs us that Gunāmbodhideva 'had taken away the fortune of Gauda'.⁵⁶ We may safely conclude that Gunāmbodhideva assisted Bhoja I in his campaign against the Pāla king Devapāla whose achievements are referred to in the Monghyr and⁵⁷ Badal⁵⁸ inscriptions. We are told in the Gwalior inscription that Bhoja "overpowered his enemy, whom the goddess of fortune forsook and chose him (Bhoja) as her overlord".⁵⁹ We do not know how far Bhoja succeeded in occupying the territories of the Pālas, for his inscriptions are not found outside the eastern limits of Uttara Pradesh.

It is reasonable to assume that after having subdued one of his powerful enemies he directed his attention towards other directions. The Partabgarh inscription informs us that 'a Cāhamāna family of kings was a source of great pleasure to Bhojadeva'.⁶⁰ *The latter may be identified with Bhoja I, for his namesake Bhoja II was a weak ruler. The Partabgarh inscription, therefore, alludes to Bhoja I's expeditions in the south-western regions.

56. Ibid., VII, p. 89.

57. Ibid., XVIII, p. 305.

58. Ibid., II, pp. 162, 165, Verse 5.

59. Ibid., XVIII, p. 109, Verse 18.

60. Ibid., XV pp. 180, 184.

Bhoja ^{appears} ~~appears~~ to have overrun southern Rajputana and the area around Avanti up to the Narmadā river ^{with} the help of the Cāhamānas.

These wars brought him nearer to the territories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He was now at the pinnacle of success and glory and was in a position to measure swords with the traditional enemies of his family. But the stars were as unfavourable to him as to his predecessors. We are told in the Bagumra copperplate, dated Ś.S. 789-867 A.D., that Dhruva of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas "easily put to flight the very strong army of the Gurjaras that was eager (for the fray) and reinforced by his kinsmen."⁶¹

Dr. Bühler and Hultzsch identify the Gurjaras with the Cāudas or Cāpotakas.⁶² Their identification is untenable, for the Bagumra copperplate in a subsequent passage reveals who these Gurjaras were. Verse 41 of the plate informs us that "though Mihira was united to fortune and surrounded by crowds of noble kinsmen, though owing to

61. Gūrjara-balamatibalavat samudyatam^u br̥h̥hitam ca kulyana
Ekākinaiva vihitam parānmukham līlā yena //38//

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 184.

62. Ibid., p. 181; See also Fleet: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 409, fn. 1

his ~~courage~~^{courage} he conquered all the regions of the world, he nevertheless disappeared, his face being covered by the darkness of defeat, after he had looked upon the eminence of Dhārāvārṣa that was greater than his own.⁶³"

⁶⁴Mihira is undoubtedly Bhoja I, who was well-known for his wide conquests, and the Gurjaras are identical with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kānyakubja. It may further be added that Bhoja I was also known as Mihira.⁶⁵ This defeat was inflicted upon him not much earlier than ~~85~~ 867 A.D., when the Bagumra plate was issued, for it is not referred to in any of the earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants and even the Nilgund grant of Amoghavarṣa I, dated S.S. 788-⁸⁶⁶~~66~~⁶⁶ A.D., does not throw light on the event.

We may safely assume that this defeat rankled in Bhoja's mind and he wanted to wreak vengeance^a upon the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He seems to have fought with them towards the end of his reign. We learn from the Barton Museum

63. Ind. ant., XII, pp. 184, 189.

64. Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji's identification of Mihira with a chief of Kathiawad's Mehars is untenable, See Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 127.

65. See ante, p. ⁷⁰67.

66. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 98-108.

fragmentary stone inscription⁶⁷ that Bhoja compelled
 Kṛṣṇarāja, who may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king⁶⁸
 Kṛṣṇa II, to retreat hastily to his own country. But the
 Rāṣṭrakūṭa records give quite a different account. The⁶⁹
 Bagumra plates of Kṛṣṇa of the Gujarat branch of the
 Rāṣṭrakūṭas, dated S.S. 810-888 A.D., inform us how the
 grantor feudatory defeated the enemy at Ujjayinī, while⁷⁰
 king Vallabha was watching the army movements. We are⁷¹
 further told in the Bagumra plates of Indra III, that old
 men vividly remembered in 914 A.D. (when the plates were
 issued) the brave feats of the late Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor⁷²
 (Kṛṣṇa II) in the sanguinary wars with the Gurjaras. Perhaps
 a reminiscence of his struggles is also preserved in the⁷³
 Deoli⁷⁴ and Karhad plates. With these conflicting accounts
 it is difficult to draw any positive conclusion. These wars

67. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 174-77

68. Shadeshābhīmukhamviratam sātirekaiḥ prayānaiḥ prāpya-
 drākkṛṣṇarājam. Ibid., p. 176.

69. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 66 ff.

70. Ibid., p. 67

71. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 24-41.

72. Ibid., p. 31.

73. Ibid., Vol. V., p. 193, verse 13.

74. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 283, verse 15.

seem to have profited neither party; they may have been of the nature of the frontier affrays. We are told by ~~Al~~ Masūdī that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras used to maintain a strong force in the south to keep the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in check;⁷⁵ frontier clashes were therefore inevitable, and victory must have remained ~~sometime~~^{sometime} on one side and sometime on the other.

Bhoja appears to have led an expedition towards ~~north-~~^{north-}western India. His inscription of the year 875 A.D.⁷⁶ represents him as 'wishing to conquer the three worlds.' In his expedition towards the north-west, he seems to have annexed some territories on the eastern side of the river Satlej to his empire.⁷⁷ A close study of the verse 151⁷⁸ of the Rājatarāṅginī may bear out that he seized some of the territories of the Thakkiyakas, who may have been in the eastern part of the Punjab. The Prthūdaka (Pehoa in the Karnal district of the Punjab) stone inscription, dated

75, Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p.22.

76. Śrīmadādivarāheṇa trailokyam vijigīṣuṇā/22/

Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 156

77. See Pehoa inscription, dated Harsa Era 276-882 A.D.,

Ibid, pp. 184-90.

78. Hṛtam Bhojādhirājena sa sāmrajyam adāpayat

pratihāratayā bhṛtyābhūte Thakkiyakānvaye.

Rājatarāṅginī, Vol. I, Bk. V, v. 151 (Stein, p. 206)

H.E. 276-882 A.D.,⁷⁹ further bears out that his suzerainty was acknowledged in those regions. The inscription refers to the transaction of business at the local horse-fair by certain horse-dealers 'in the auspicious and victorious⁸⁰ reign of Bhojadeva.'

We learn from the Vastrāpatha Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa that a Vanapāla (Warden of the forests) came to Bhoja and intimated ~~to~~ him of a woman with the face of⁸¹ a doe roaming in the forests of Girnār with a herd of deer. Bhoja, thereupon, collected his forces and marched towards Raivataka. The place was surrounded. The doe-maiden was ultimately captured and brought to Kānyakubja. It appears⁸² that Bhoja I had also attacked Saurāstra. The Una inscriptions of Balavarman and Avanivarman refer to his son Mahendrapāla as suzerain and there is no reference to attribute the

79. See ante, p. ⁷⁸~~75~~, fn. 77

80. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 186, 188

81. Vanatkaśācidabhetya vanapālovraṇīdīdam/ Āścaryam
bhramtā deva vane dr̥ṣṭam mayādhunā/ Girau viṣam
bhūbhāge bahu vr̥kṣasamākule/ Mṛgayūthagatānārī
mayā dr̥ṣṭa mṛgānānā// Skanda Purāṇa, Vastrāpatha
Māhātmya, (VII, 2), VI 22, 23.

82. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 1-6; Ibid., pp. 6-10. ✓

conquest of Saurāstra to Mahendrapala. We may, therefore, conclude that Saurāstra was conquered by Bhoja I.

Thus Bhoja appears to have extended the boundaries of his dominions. His empire in the north touched the foot of the Himalayas⁸³ and ~~in~~ in the north-west extended up to the river Satlej⁸⁴. Bundelkhand⁸⁵ was in the south and Vatsa in the south-east. In the east it must have touched the western frontier of the Pāla kingdom. Saurāstra and perhaps the lower course of the Narmadā formed the south-western boundary of the empire. In Rajputana his suzerainty was acknowledged by the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī⁸⁶ and Dhavalpurī⁸⁷, the Guhila putras of Catsu⁸⁸ and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Gurjaratrā⁸⁹. We may, therefore, conclude that a large part of Rajputana was included within his dominions.

83. See ante, p. 69⁷²⁻⁷³

84. Ibid., pp. 73-74. 78-79.

85. Ibid., p. 68. 71-72

86. Ibid., pp. 64-65⁶⁷. The Prthvirājavijaya [V, Vs. 30-31, p. 137 (Belvalkar's Edition)] throws interesting sidelight on the relations between the two families. We learn from the Prthvirājavijaya that Gūvaka's sister, Kaṭāvati, chose for her husband the lord of Kanauj in preference to

His empire was rich in resources and well-administered. We are told by the Arab traveller Sulaiman (237 A.H. = 851⁹⁰ A.D.) that the king of Jurz (Gurjara) "maintains numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. ^{Among} ~~Among~~ the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers"⁹¹.

It may be pointed out that after the death of Harsha, it was Bhoja's empire which could emulate in some respects

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other suitors. We may identify this lord of Kanauj with Bhoja I, for Kalāvatī's grandfather Gūvakal was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II (see ante. p. 67⁶⁷).

87. See Dr. H.C. Ray, D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 1059

88. See ante, p. 69⁷²⁻⁷³

89. Ibid., p. 27²¹; V.B. Mishra: The Gurjara-Pratihāras of Gurjaratrā, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXXIII, p. 187

(Contd. on the following page)

and excel in others the empire of the illustrious Harṣa of Kanauj.

The Vastrāpatha Māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa informs us that on hearing the efficacy^a of the sacred waters of the Suvarṇa-rekhā from the ~~door~~^{duh-}maiden, Bhoja expressed his desire to abdicate in favour of his son and go on a pilgrimage to its holy sites. From the Ahar stone⁹² inscription⁹³ we learn that Bhoja was in power in 904-05 A.D. The first known date of his son and successor Mahendrapāla is 893⁹⁴ A.D. The last two dates (902-03 and 904-05) of the Ahar stone inscription overlap the early years of the reign of Mahendrapāla. It would not be wide of the mark to assume that a portion of this inscription was engraved during the reign of Bhoja I and other portions were added during the administration of Mahendrapāla. It is very likel. that Bhoja I abdicated in ^{favour} ~~favour~~ of his ^{son} ~~son~~ ^{sometime} ~~sometime~~ after 889⁹⁵ A.D., for we do not have any other

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90. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 3-7

91. Ibid., p. 4,

92. Tyaktvā-rājyaṃ priyaṃ putrāṃ patyaśva-rathā kuṃ-jarāṃ
Putrāṃ rājye pratisthāpya gantavyaṃ nīśaitan mayā,
Skanda Purāṇa, I, p. 15.

(contd. on the following page)

inscription of Shoja I later than this date except the Aharix inscription under discussion.

MAHENDRAPĀLA I (c.890-907 A.D.)

As referred to elsewhere Mahendrapāla was in power in 893 A.D. The standard form of his name was Mahendrapāla but the variants were Mahīndrapāla⁹⁶, Mahendrāyudha⁹⁷, Mahiṣapāladeva⁹⁸, Nirbhayarāja and Nirbhayanarendra with Irākrt equivalents in the plays of Rājasekhara⁹⁹. In the Dighwa-Dubauli copperplate inscription¹⁰⁰, dated V.S. 955-898 A.D., he is called Śrīmad bhāka¹⁰¹. Our records inform us ^{that} ~~that~~ he was a devout worshipper of Bhagavati¹⁰² (paramabhagavatībhakta).

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97. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 52-62

98. See Una inscription; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 1-6

95. See the dates of the Ahar inscription, Ibid., XIX, pp. 52-62.

96. M.A. S.B., V, pt. III, p. 64.

97. Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 2, 5.

98. Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 174.

99. ~~Ind. Ant.~~ See p. ²⁵⁹~~245~~, fn. 1

100. Ind. Ant., XV, p. 113

101. See also Ep. Ind., V, p. 209; J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 65

102. Ind. Ant., XV, p. 112; Ibid., p. 140; Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 183.

The Pratihara empire appears to have reached its summit of glory during his administration. Inscriptions of his reign have ^{been} ~~been~~ discovered in Bihar and in the northern part of the ~~of the~~ Rajshahi district of Bengal. Two of them are found in the Gaya district of Bihar. One of these was found at ¹⁹³ Ramgaya, on the other side of the river Phalgu, just opposite the Gadadhara temple at Gaya. The other was found at ¹⁰⁴ Guneriya in the southern part of the Gaya district. A third inscription was discovered at Itkhorī in the Hazaribagh district, on an image of Tārā. ¹⁰⁵ An inscription of the 4th year of his reign comes from Bihar. ¹⁰⁶ Two more inscriptions are preserved in the British Museum, ¹⁰⁷ and according to Mr. R.D. Banerjee they were also discovered in Bihar. In 1926, Mr. Banerjee discovered a stone pillar dedicated to the Buddha in the 5th year of his reign in a Buddhist temple at Paharpur.

103. Mem. As. Soc. Beng., V, No. 3, pp. 64-65; Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., III, p. 123; XV, p. 154; Ind. Ant., 1918, pp. 109-11.

104. Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., III, p. 124; Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 110; See, however, Ind. Ant., XXXVIII, p. 264; Mem. As. Soc. Beng. V, p. 64.

105. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., Central Circle, 1920-21 p. 35.

106. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1923-24, pp. 101-02.

107. Ep. Ind., V. Appendix, p. 47 note 5.

in the northern part of the Rajshahi district of Bengal. From the findspots of these inscriptions, we may conclude that a large part of Bihar up to northern Bengal had acknowledged his suzerainty. These inscriptions may further bear out that by the 9th year of his reign, Mahendrapāla had completed the conquest of these regions. It may be added that after the Bhagalpur plate of the 17th year, the Pāla King Nārāyanapāla is not known to have issued any plate in those regions until the close of his rule of about 54 years. We ^{may} therefore, conclude that sometime after the 17th year of Nārāyanapāla's reign, the Gurjara-Pratihāras advanced towards the east and annexed the whole of Tirhut and northern Bengal to their empire. Perhaps Guhila II of Catsu had accompanied his suzerain Mahendrapāla in his campaign against the Pālas of Bengal, for we are told in the Catsu inscription of Balāditya that Guhila with

108. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1925-26, p. 141; See also J.B.O.R. & S., Dec. 1928, p. 505.

109. The dates of these inscriptions range from the 2nd year to the 9th year of Mahendrapāla's reign. See Appendix II, pp. 299-319-20.

110 Ind. Ant., XV, pp. 304-10.

111 Guhila's father Harṣarāja was a feudatory of Bhoja I (see ante, p. 69). We may, therefore, assume that Guhila had acknowledged the suzerainty of Mahendrapāla.

excellent horses from the seacoast defeated the king of
Gauda and levied tribute from the princes in the east. ¹¹²

Towards the west his suzerainty over Saurāstra
remained undisputed. ¹¹³ The Una inscriptions inform us that
Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II Yoga were the
foundatories of Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramesvara
Mahendrāyudhadeva. We may identify Mahendrāyudhadeva with
Mahendrapāla I, for he is represented in the Una inscription,
dated Valabhī Era 574-893 A.D., as meditating on the ^{feet} of
Bhojadeva and the inscription of Avanivarman II Yoga, dated
V.S. 956-899 A.D., gives even the standard form of his name,
Mahendrapāla.

Perhaps Mahendrapāla could not maintain the integrity
of his empire in north-western India. We are told in the
verse 151 of the Rājataranginī ¹¹⁴ that Śaṅkaravarman "caused the
sovereign power, which the superior king Bhoja had seized,
to be given up to the scion of the Thakkiya family, who
had become his servant in the office of ^{chamberlain} ¹¹⁵" We
may, therefore, conclude that the territories which were

112. Ep. Ind., XII, p. 15 Verse 25.

113. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 1-10

114. See ante, p. ⁷⁸ 73 fn. 78

115. Rājataranginī, Vol. I, Bk. V, verse 151 (Stein, p. 206)

116
 seized by Bhoja I were restored to the Thakkiyaka by
 the Kashmiri king Śaṅkaravarman. This transaction appears
 to have taken place a few years after the accession of
 Śaṅkaravarman. We are told in the Rājatarāṅginī that
 Śaṅkaravarman, had to face a civil war in the beginning
 117
 of his reign. It is reasonable to assume that he took
 some years to put down his rivals and undertake foreign
 expeditions. Perhaps Mahendrapāla was busy in his eastern
 conquest when Śaṅkaravarman attacked his north-western
 possessions.

It would appear that Mahendrapāla's empire in the
 118
 north touched the foot of the Himalayas and in the north-
 119
 west extended up to the Karnal district of the Punjab.
 Bundelkhanda was in the south. Saurāstra and probably the
 lower course of the Narmadā formed the south-western
 boundary of his empire. In the east it included Magadha
 and northern Bengal.

116. See ante, pp. 73-74.
 78
 Śaṅkaravarman ascended the throne in c. 883 A.D. See Rājatarāṅginī (Stein, p. 203).

117. Rājatarāṅginī, Vol. I, Bk. V, verses 130-135 (Stein, p. 203).

118. See Dighwa-Dubauli copperplate, Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, pp. 105-13.

119. See Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 245, 248.

BHOJA II (c.908-12 A.D.)

We learn from the Bengal Asiatic Society's copperplate¹²⁰ of Vināyakapāla, dated V.S. 988-931 A.D., that Mahendrapāla was succeeded by his son Bhoja, begotten on queen Dehanāgā-¹²²Devī. The Asmi stone inscription, dated V.S. 974-917 A.D., on the other hand informs us that Mahendrapāla was succeeded by his son Mahīpāla and makes no reference to Bhoja. "This omission may, therefore, be explained either by the extreme ~~shortness~~ ^{shortness} of Bhoja's reign, or by the assumption that there was a war of succession and at first the victorious claimant did not think it prudent to recall on stone the existence of one whom he had overthrown. But when ~~at~~ ^{with} the lapse of time his memory had faded away, he felt no scruples in mentioning the name of his rival in the genealogical list¹²²". The last known date of Mahendrapāla

120. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 138-141; first noticed in J.A.S.B., XVIII (1848), p. 70f; see ^{also} ~~also~~ Ibid., XXI (1862), p. 1f.; J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, p. 45f.

121 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 173-75

122. Dr. R.S. Tripathi. Hist. of Kanauj to the ^{Muslim} ~~the~~ Conquest, p. 255.

is 907¹²³ A.D. and the first known date of his son Mahīpāla is 914¹²⁴ A.D. Bhoja II, therefore, came to power ^{sometime} ~~sometime~~ after 907 A.D. and governed the state till the accession of Mahīpāla.

The Amoda plates of the Haihaya king Prthivideva I inform us that Kokkalla 'raided the treasuries of the Gurjara king'.¹²⁵ From the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva we learn that Kokkalla, "having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame, - in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, i.e., the south) that well-known Kṛṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera (i.e., in the north) Bhojadeva, a ^{store} ~~stone~~ of fortune."¹²⁶ The Banarasa copperplate of Kaṇnadeva ^{records} ~~records~~

123. See Siyadoni (Gwalior) stone inscription, V.S.

964=907 A.D., Ep. Ind., I, pp.162-179. We do not have any inscription of Mahendrapāla I later than this date.

124. See Haddala copperplate inscription, Ind. Ant., XII, pp.190-95.

125. Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 78.

126. Jitvā kṛtsnām yena prthvīmpurvavānkīrti stambha
⁶ ~~dvandvanāropya~~ sma
 Kaumbhod⁶bhavyāndīshya sau kṛṇarājah kauveryāñca-
 Śrīnidhir Bhojadevah /17/ Ibid., I, pp.256, 264.

that the hand of Kokkalla 'granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the Citrakūṭabbhūpāla Harṣa, and rājā Śaṅkaragana.¹²⁷ We may identify Bhoja of these inscriptions with Bhoja II, for Bhoja I, who was a great warrior and conqueror, would not have depended on Kokkalla for his throne. It may be concluded that Kokkalla at first inflicted a defeat upon Bhoja II and later on reinstated him.

We learn from the Bengal Asiatic Society's copperplate that Bhoja II was a Vaisṇava.¹²⁸ He was succeeded by his step-brother Mahīpāla.

MAHĪPĀLA I (c. 913-942-43 A.D.)

As referred to elsewhere Mahīpāla I was in power in 914 A.D.¹²⁹ It is reasonable to assume that he ascended the throne in less than six years after the death of his father.

127. Bhoje Vallabharāja Śrīharṣe Citrakūṭabbhūpāle/
Śaṅkaragane ca rājani yasyāsīdabhayaḍaḥ pañih//
Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 306-7.

128. ---- paramavaṣṇavo mahārāja-śrī-bhojadevas ----,
Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 140.

129. See ante, p. 89.

Mahipāla I appears to have other synonymous names.

The Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. S. 1011-954 A.D., refers to one Hayapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla. We are told that the Candella chief

Yaśovarman had received an image of Vaikuntha from him.

The Siyadoni inscription, dated V. S. 1005-948 A.D., introduces us to Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramaśvara the illustrious Devapala, son of Kṣitipāla. We may ^{conclude} ~~conclude~~ that Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription was a contemporary of the Candella chief Yaśovarman whose reign came to an end near about 954 A.D., when Dhaṅga issued his Khajuraho inscription. It is reasonable to assume that Devapāla of the Khajuraho inscription was identical with Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription. It may, therefore, be concluded that

130. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 122-35.

131. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 162-79.

132. Dr. Gaurishankar Hiracand Ojha does not accept the

identification of the two Devapālas. He says that Hayapati Devapāla could not be the same as Devapāla of Mahodaya [on the casual mention of the former in an inscription of a king of a dynasty other than his own]. He further adds that 'Hayapati was never

their fathers were one and the same person. As Kṣiti and Mahī are synonymous, the three names - Kṣitipāla, Mahīpāla and Herambapāla, are identical. In addition, Mahīpāla appears to have had one more name - Vināyaka-pāla. We are told in the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper^e plate, dated V.S. 988-931¹³³ A.D., that Vināyaka-pāla meditated on the feet of his father

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the accepted title of the Pratīhāra Kings of Mahodaya and is not met with in their inscriptions' (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 180). This, however, does not militate against the proposed identification. There is evidence to prove that the Pratīhāras were fond of horses. The Gatsu inscription of Bālāditya informs us that the Guhila prince Harṣarāja presented horses to Bhoja I, possibly for the latter's love for them, (see ante, p. 69⁷²). We are told by the Muslim travellers that the king of Jura had the best cavalry in India (see ante, pp. 75-76⁸¹); Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 25). We may safely conclude that other contemporary dynasties had recognised the strength of their cavalry and called them 'Hayapati' (lord of horses).

⁸⁸
133. See ante, p. 29, fn. 120

Mahendrapāla and his brother Bhojadeva¹³⁴ (III). We have referred to elsewhere that Bhojadeva of this plate was a step-brother of Mahīpāladeva. Besides, Vināyaka and Heramba are synonymous, for they stand for Gaṇapati. We may, therefore, conclude that Mahīpāla, Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla are the names of one and the same person.¹³⁵

Mahīpāla I had to face the northern expedition of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III.¹³⁶ The Cambay plates of

134. Bhojadevas tasya bhrātrā Śrī-Mahendrapāladeva puttras tayoh - pādānudyātah Śrī Mahīdevī devyām utpannah paramādityabhakto Mahārāja Śrī Vināyakapāla devah// Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 141.

135. See, however, Niharranjan Ray, Ibid., Vol. LXVII, p. 232.

136. Before his formal coronation in February 915, Indra III had sacked Meru and conquered a king named Upendra who had annexed or relieved Govardhana (Kṛtogovardhanoddhāraṁ helomūlitameruṇā/ Upendramīndrarājena jītvā yena na viśmitam// J.B.B.R.A.S., XVIII, p. 253) → →

(contd. on the following page -

Govinda IV refer to this expedition. We are told that

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→ The historical information conveyed by the second quarter of this verse is still a mystery. Kielhorn thinks that Meru may be Kanauj (Ep. Ind., VII, Appendix, p. 16, n.2). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the other hand suggests that Upendra may have been another name of Mahipala, the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor (Ibid., pp. 38 ff.). "Both these suggestions, besides being based upon pure assumption ignore the significant fact that the feats, referred to in the verse in question, were performed by Indra before his coronation. It is almost inconceivable that Indra would have carried out his expedition against Kanauj during the short interval between his father's death and his own formal coronation. Upendra, conquered by him, seems to be the Paramara chief Kṣṇarāja, ^{who,} ~~who,~~ according to the Udaipur Prasasti, was ^{also} ~~also~~ known as Upendrarāja. Vākpati alias Muñja, who was a contemporary of Tailapa, (c.980 A.D.), was Upendra's great-grandson. The known dates of Siyaka, grandson of Upendra, range from 949 to 973 A.D. Upendra's rule, therefore, must

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"the courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya¹³⁷
 (became) uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting
 elephants". The plates further inform us that "he
 completely devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya, which
 is even to-day greatly renowned among men by the name of
 Kusasthala¹³⁸". It appears that Indra III first attacked

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have been between c. 900-925 A. D. Paramāras were in the
 beginning very probably feudatories of the Gurjara-
 Pratihāras; at their instigation Upendra seems to have
 attacked Govardhan in Nasik district at the beginning of
 Indra's reign. Indra defeated him, compelling the
 Paramāras to transfer their allegiance to his own house.
 The Harsola grant attests to the fact that the Paramāras
 were professing allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas subsequent
 to Indra's conquest". (Report of the third Oriental
 Conference, Madras, pp. 303-308; Dr. A. S. Altekar: The
 Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp. 100-101).

137. The god Kālapriya refers to Mahākālā of Ujjain.

See, however, Ibid., p. 102, fn. 44.

138. Yammādyaddvipadantaghātaviṣaṃsā Kālapriyaprāṅgaṇam/
 Tīrnā Yatturagairagādhayamunā Sindhupratispardhinī//
 - Yenedam hi Mahodayārinagrām nirmūlanamūlitan/

(Contd. on the following page^{wi})

Ujjayinī and then finally captured Kanauj. He was assisted by his feudatory Narasimha Cālukya. We are told in the *Karṇāṭaka-śabdānuśāsana* that Narasimha "plucked from Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he had held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled as if struck by thunder-bolts, staying neither to eat nor to rest, nor to pick himself up, while Narasimha pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame.¹³⁹ Mahīpāla seems to have been pursued up to Pravāga.¹⁴⁰ The war perhaps took place ^{sometime} ~~some time~~ in 916-917 A.D. Indra III ascended the throne in S.S. 836, 915 A.D.¹⁴¹ It is reasonable to assume that he took some time to prepare for his northern expedition. We learn from the

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Nāmnādyāpi janaiḥ Kuśasthalamiti khyātim parāṁmiyate//

Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 38.

139. *Karṇāṭaka-śabdānuśāsana* (ed. Lewis Rice), p. 26;

Āmṇya: Vikramārjunavijaya (ed. Lewis Rice), pp. 3-4;

J.R.A.S., N.S., Vol. XIV (1882), p. 29; *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I,

Pt. II, p. 380.

140. The junction of the Gaṅgā referred to in the *Karṇāṭaka-*

śabdānuśāsana seems to be with the Yamunā and not with

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Dandapur inscription that his son Govinda IV was in power in S. S. 840-918-19¹⁴² A.D. We may, therefore, conclude that Indra III had led the expedition against Kanauj sometime in 916-17 A.D.

The Gurjara - Pratihāra empire seems to have survived the shock. Mahipāla I perhaps courted the help of the Candellas to regain his throne. We are told in the Khajuraho inscription that the Candella king Harṣa placed Kṣitipāla again on the throne¹⁴³.

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the sea, for it is reasonable to assume that Mahipāla would not have fled away towards the territories of the Pālas, who were defeated by his father only a few years ago (See ante, p. 79⁸⁵).

141. See the Nausari grant, Fleet; Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 415.

142. Ibid., p. 417; Ind. Ant., XII, pp. 222-23; Ep. Ind., VI pp. 176, 177.

143. Pamar yena Śrī-Kṣitipāla-devanṛpatiḥ simhāsane sthātsāditārātīśakti kīrti-vibhūṣanah. Ibid., Vol. I p. 128, line 10; See, however, Dr. R.S. Tripathi, Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p. 257, fn.1.

The Palas of Bengal, who had already reoccupied Uddandapura or Bihar in the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's¹⁴⁴ reign, appear to have taken advantage of Indra's invasion.¹⁴⁵ An inscription of the Pāla king Rājyapala^(c. 908-940 A.D.), found in the Jain temple at Baragaon in the Patna district, may bear out that in the 24th year of his reign, Nalandā and probably the whole of south Bihar was reoccupied by the Palas. We further learn from two other inscriptions of the time of Gopāla II[✓] that the Palas had re-established their suzerainty over Magadha or south Bihar. One of these¹⁴⁶ inscriptions, unearthed at Nalandā, records that an image of the goddess Vaiṣṇavarī^g was covered with gold leaf by some unnamed person. The second inscription, discovered amidst the ruins of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya, informs us

144. cf. the Bihar (Uddandapura) inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 110; Bāṅgalār Itihāsa, 2nd edition, Vol. I, pp. 225, fn. 57.

145. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 111.

146. Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., Vol. I, (1862-65), p. 36.

that Dharmabhīma had erected an image of the Buddha.¹⁴⁷

"These inscriptions no doubt belong to a period about two decades after the invasion of Indra III, but the re-assertion of Pāla power in Magadha cannot be far removed from this event, as the subsequent career of Mahīpāla appears to have been a glorious one."¹⁴⁸

Mahīpāla's later conquests are described by Rājasekhara in an introduction to the Bālabhārata in the following words:

"And in that (lineage of Raghu) there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva who has bowed down the locks of ~~his~~ hair on the tops of the heads of the M^uralas; who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kalingas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramathas"¹⁴⁹. We may identify the Muralas with those people who inhabited the banks of the river Murlā,¹⁵⁰ which flowed in or near the Kerala country.

147. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 237.

148. Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p. 262.

149. Namita-Murala-manlih pākalo Mekalanām,
Rana-kalita-kalingah kālī taṭa keral-endoḥ,

The Mekalas appear to have lived in the Mekala hills in the north and west of the Chattisgarh district. ¹⁵¹ Kalinga is the Orrisan coast extending probably as far south as Vizagapatam. The Keralas were in the south between the Western Ghats and the sea-coast. Kulūta is represented by the present Kullu district on the upper course of the ¹⁵² Bias river. ¹⁵³ Kuntala was the ancient name of the western part of the Deccan. The Ramathas appear to have been the neighbours of the Kulūtas, for they are placed along with the Kulīndas in the northern division in the Vāyu Purāṇa and with the Paṇcanadas in the western division in the

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Ajani jita kulūtaḥ Kuntalānam Kuthārah,
Hatha-hṛta-Ramatha-śrīḥ śrī-Mahīpāladevaḥ.

nājaśekhara: Bālabhārata (ed. Pt.D.P. & K.P.P.), p. 2.

150. In the Raghuvamśa (IV, 55), there is a reference to a river Murlā :-

Murlā mārutoddhūtaṁ gamatkaitakam rajah/

Tadyo dhavāra~~vānānām~~ yatna paṭavāsa tām//

See also Dr. R.C. Majumdar: J. of the Dept. of Letters, Cal. University, 1923, Vol. X, p. 64.

151. J.A.S.B., 1897, pp. 99, 110.

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Brhat-samhitā. According to the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā¹⁵⁵, the Ramathas were a people who resided beyond Prthūdaka in the north.

Mahīpāla I appears to have carried his arms as far as the ^{upper} ~~upper~~ course of the river Bias in the north-west to Kalinga in the south-east. In the north his empire seems to have touched the foot of the Himalayas and Kerala formed its southern boundary. Al Masūdī, who visited the valley of the Indus in Hijri 303 -04-¹⁵⁵15 -16 A.D., ^{informs} ~~informs~~ us that "the Mihraṇ of Sindh comes from the well-known sources in the highlands of Sindh, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Baijura¹⁵⁵ and from Kashmir"¹⁵⁶. We may safely conclude that ^{some} ~~some~~ parts

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152. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1907-08, p. 260.
153. Mr. K. M. Munshi (The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, III, p. 107) identifies the Kuntalas with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mañyakheta.
154. Ch. XVII, p. 94.
155. The term Baijura seems to be an Arabic corruption of the term Pratihāra or its Prākṛt equivalent Padihāra.
156. Elliot; Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 21.

of the Punjab were included in the Pratihāra empire. It may further be added that a part of Sindh was also included, for we are told by Al Masūdī that the king of Kamanj was one of the kings of Sindh.¹⁵⁷ In the south-west Saurāstra continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Mahipāla I.

We are told in the Haddala copperplate that eastern Kathiawar was governed by his feudatory Dharanivarāha.¹⁵⁸ It has sometimes been assumed that Saurāstra, which had been connected with the Pratihāras ^{since} ~~since~~ the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II, must have slipped away from their hands after the raid of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Indra III, but there is no evidence of any such rupture until the rise of Mūlarāja Cālukya. Towards the east his empire does not seem to have extended much beyond the western borders of Bihar.

Mahipāla I seems to have reoccupied Ujjain. The Kartabgarh inscription, dated V.S. 1003=946 A.D., bears out that Ujjain was governed by a representative of his son Mahendrapāla (II).¹⁵⁹ Our records do not ascribe the conquest

157. Ibid., p. 22.

158. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, pp. 190-95; See, however,

Buhler's identification of Mahipāla, Ibid., p. 192.

159. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 185.

of Ujjain to Mahendrapāla II. We may safely conclude that Ujjain was recovered by Mahipāla I. The Kahlā copperplate informs us that the Kalacuri prince Bhāmāna¹⁶⁰ gained renown by conquering Dhārā. As it is unlikely that a minor prince like Bhāmāna would by himself lead an expedition as far as Ujjain, we may safely assume that he accompanied his suzerain Mahipāla I in his southern campaigns and helped him in his victories. Perhaps the Guhila chief Bhatia had also assisted him, for he is credited with ^{having} ~~being~~ defeated in battle the kings of the south at the command of his paramount lord.¹⁶¹

The Bengal Asiatic Society's plate, issued in V.S. 988-931 A.D. from ^a Mphodaya, records the grant of a village named Tikkarigrāma in the Vārāṇasī-viṣaya of the Pratisthāna-bhukti.¹⁶² It is reasonable to conclude that Vārāṇasī formed a part of the Pratihāra empire. We are told by Al Masūdī that "the kingdom of the Baṇūra, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sindh, each parasang being equal to eight

160. ----- nija-vijayi-pa(ḍo) ddhāra-Dhārāvanīśa-(hr̥sya)
t-^{sen} ~~con~~ājaya-Śrī-baṭha-harana-kalā-dhama Bhāmāna-devah.

Ibid., VII, pp. 89-90.

161. Ibid., XII, pp. 12, 16, verse 26.

162. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 140, 141

miles of this country." He further tells us that "the king has four armies according to the four quarters of the world. ^{Each of} ~~Each of~~ them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. ----- The army of the north ^{was} ~~was~~ against the prince of Multan, and with the Muslims, his subjects on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balhara, king of Mankir. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every ¹⁶⁴ direction".

In spite of these garrisons, the closing years of Mahipala's reign appear to have been disturbed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions. We are told in the ¹⁶⁵ Deoli and ¹⁶⁶ Karhad plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern regions simply by means of his angry glance, ^{the} ~~and~~ hope about Kālāñjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the ¹⁶⁷ Gurjara". Kṛṣṇa III must have led these expeditions sometime

163. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I p. 23.

164. Ibid.

165. Ep. Ind., Vol. V., p. 192 f.

166. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 278f.

167. Dakṣiṇadig-durga-vijayam-ākarnya,

Galitā Gūrjara-hṛdayāt Kālāñjara-Citrakūṭa-āśā, Vol. V
Ibid., pp. 284, 289, verse 30; Ibid. Vol. V. p. 194
verse 25.

before 940 A.D., when the Deoli plates were issued, for we are told in the Karhad copperplates, dated S.S. 880 = 959 A.D., that his success was one of those achieved by him when he was yet a prince. Mahīpāla appears to have become so panic-stricken by Kṛṣṇa's victories that he lost all hopes of the defence and safety of two of his most ~~ix~~ strategic strongholds. Kṛṣṇa seems to have occupied Kālāñjara and Citrakūṭa. ¹⁶⁸ An inscription confirms the testimony of the Deoli and Karhad plates. This inscription was found at Jura in the Maihar state of Baghelkhand. It is written upon a stone and contains a eulogy of Kṛṣṇa III in Canarese. That a Canarese eulogy of Kṛṣṇa III should be discovered in Baghelkhand can be explained only on the assumption that the claim to the conquest of Citrakūṭa and Kālāñjara is well-founded. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to have continued to hold these forts for about ten years; they were reconquered by the Candella king Yaśovarman ^{some time} ~~some time~~ before 954 A.D.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE EMPIRE.

Mahendrapāla II

Mahipāla I appears to have been succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla (II), begotten on Prasādhadevī of the Devathāddhi family. We learn from the Kartabgarh inscription that Mahendrapāla was in power in V.E. 1003 = 946 A.D., when the inscription² was issued from Mahodaya. The Rakhetra stone inscription, discovered in the village of that name, near Canderi in Gwalior, informs us that Vināyakapāla alias Mahipāla I constructed certain water-works there at an immense cost in the year (Vikrama) 999-1000 = 942⁴³ A.D. We may, therefore, assume that Mahendrapāla II ascended the throne only a year or two before the date of the Kartabgarh inscription. We are told in the Kartabgarh inscription that at the request of one Dhanaśūra Mahendrapāla II bestowed the village of Kharparapadraka, in the holding of Talavargika Hariśada, and situated in the vicinity of Ghontā-varṣikā in the western pathaka of Dasapura (Mandasor), ^{upon} ~~uppon~~ the goddess Vatayakṣinīdevī, whose shrine was connected with the mātḥa of Hari Rāṣīdvara. It further informs us that Mādhava

1. See Kartabgarh inscription, EpInd.^{XIV}, pp.176-186.

2. Ann.Rep.Arch.Surv.Ind., 1924-25, p.168.

son of Dāmodara, was acting as the Tantrapāla (charge d' affaires), Mahāsāmantā (great feudatory) and Mahādandanāyaka (chief criminal judge) at Ujjain³. Another officer Śrī Śarman, who was a Balādhikṛta (commandant) was carrying on the state administration at Maṇḍapikā⁴ or Māṇḍī, near Ujjain. It is reasonable to ~~also~~ conclude that Mahendrapāla II continued to exercise authority over the Ujjain region.

Devapāla

The Siyadoni (Gwalior) stone inscription⁵ makes no mention of Mahendrapāla II, and represents Devapāla, son of Kṣitipāla alias Mahīpāla I, as the immediate successor of his father. This omission may, therefore, be explained either by the extreme shortness of Mahendrapāla's reign, or by the assumption that their relations were unfriendly. We do not know the exact date of Devapāla's accession. The Siyadoni inscription was issued in the year (Vikrama) 1005 = 948 A.D. We may assume that Devapāla ascended the throne shortly before the year of the inscription.

His reign seems to have been marked by the rise of the Candellas of Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand) to virtual

3. Tantrapāla-Mahāsāmantā-Dandanāyaka Śrī-Mādhavunah.

Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 185.

4. Ibid, pp. 180, 185-87.

5. Ibid, I, pp. 162-79.

independent power. Verse 23 of the ^K~~Khajuraho~~^j inscription of Dhanga, dated V.K.1011 = 954 A.D., gives the following account of the victories and campaigns of Yasovarman Candella: - "Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure-creepers (Kridālatā), equalled the forces (bala) of the Khasas (and) carried off the treasure of the Kosalas, before whom perished the Kāshmīri warriors (naśyat-Kāsmīra-vīrah); who weakened the Mithilas (sithilita-Mithilah), (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas (kālavan Mālavānām), who brought distress on the shameful Cedis (sīdat-sāvadya-Cediḥ), who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees (Kuru-taruṣu marut), and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras (saṁjvaro Gurjarānām)."⁶

The expression saṁjvaro Gurjarānām suggests that Yasovarman may have ~~be~~ even ^{come} ~~gone~~ into violent conflict with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja. But we learn from the Khajuraho inscription that though practically independent the Candellas retained in their public documents a formal, if nominal, recognition of the imperial line at ⁷ Kānyakubja.

6. Ibid, p. 126.

7. Ibid, p. 135.

The Khajuraho inscription tells us that Yaśovarman "easily conquered the Kālāñjara mountain, the dwelling place of Śiva, which is so high that it impeded the progress of the Sun at midday"⁸. As referred to elsewhere the fort of Kālāñjara was taken by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III from the Gurjara-kratihāras.⁹ Yaśovarman must have conquered Kālāñjara from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, although they are not referred to in the Khajuraho inscription among the peoples defeated by him.

The Khajuraho inscription further informs us that Yaśovarman erected a "charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow". The image of Vaikunṭha which he set up in this temple was first obtained by "the lord of Bhoṭa (? = Tibet) from the Kailāsa, and from him Śāhī, the king of Kīra received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards

8. Ibid, p. 133, verse 31.

9. See ante, pp. 94-95 104-105.

10. The Kīras have been identified with the Kashmiras by some, but it seems more plausible to locate them in the Kangra valley of the Punjab. For an account of the Kīra kingdom, see Ind. Hist. Quart., IX (March, 1933) pp. 11-17.

Herambapālla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yasovarman himself) received it from the Hayapati Devapāla, the son of (Herambapāla).¹¹ We have identified Devapāla, ~~thaxam~~ of the Khajuraho inscription with the illustrious Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription.¹² It may, therefore, be concluded that the Candellas had become a standing menace to the imperial house at Kanauj.

Further, the Pratihāra power appears to have been threatened by the Kalacuris of Tripuri. We are told in the Goharva plates of Karna that Lakṣmanarāja conquered the king of Vāṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, & Gurjara and Kāsmīra.¹³ Lakṣmanarāja was three generations earlier than Gāṅgeya, who seems to have died in 1041 A.D.¹⁴ Allowing twenty-five years for each generation that preceded Gāṅgeya, we may place Lakṣmanarāja at about the middle of the 10th century A.D. Lakṣmanarāja appears to have defeated Devapāla, for the Pratihāras of Kānyakubja exercised their imperial sway over the Gurjara land (Gurjaratrā).

11. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134, Vs. 42-43.

12. See ante, pp. 83-84. 91.

13. Vāṅgāla-bhaṅga-nipunah paribhūta-pāṇḍyo Lāṭeśa-Lunthana
patārjjita-Gurjaranīrah-Kāsmīravīra-mukutārcita-pādapiṭṭah.

¹⁴ See Ind., Vol. XI, p. 142.

14. H.C. Ray: D.H.N.I, II, p. 777

Dr. Gaurishanker Hiraachand Ojha refers to one unpublished, damaged and fragmentary inscription found in a small Jain temple at Ahar, near Udaipur. This inscription informs us that the Guhila prince Allata killed in fight his powerful enemy¹⁵ Devapāla. It is difficult to identify this Devapāla with the materials at hand. If this Devapāla is identical with the Pratihāra king¹⁶ under consideration, we may conclude that the Pratihāra empire was on the decline and rulers of small states were rising to power.

Vināyakapāla II (or Mahipāla II)

Devapāla appears to have been succeeded by Vināyakapāla. The name of this monarch was brought to light by the discovery of the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaiga, dated V.E. 1011 = 954 A.D. We are told in the Khajuraho inscription that "while the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated."¹⁷ The identification of this king has been a matter of controversy. Kielhorn, who edited

15. G.H.Ojha: Rājputāna kā Itihāsa, II, p. 428.

16. According to Dr. Barnett, the identification is

"possible but not very probable". See Dr. H.C. Ray:

D.H.N.I., II, p. 1170, fn. 2

17. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 135

the Khⁱauraho inscription, 'was unable to offer any conjecture, and he felt even some doubts about the correctness of his reading'.¹⁸ A close study of the inscription may bear out that Vināyakapāladeva was a suzerain. It is not unreasonable to assume that Vināyakapāladeva was a Pratihāra king, for the Pratihāras were still invoked as overlords. ^{As} we, therefore, to identify him with Vināyakapāla alias Mahipāla I, or to take him as a separate ruler ? "Chronological considerations go against the first alternative, as the Khajuraho inscription is dated in 954 A.D., and we know it definitely that Vināyakapāla's successor was already on the throne in the year 946 A.D. It has, no doubt, been sometimes supposed that the name of Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record of Yaśovarman, and after the latter's death it was set up in 954 A.D. during the reign of his successor Dhāniga with the addition of some verses at the end describing his martial exploits.¹⁹ This assumption, however, does not appear to be cogent, for why should the name of a monarch, who was dead and gone, be retained in the 'subsequent modification' of

17. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 135

18. Ibid., p. 124.

19. J. Dept. of Letters, Cal. Univ., Vol. I, 1923, p. 61

an official document made in the time of Dhaṅga, when Vināyakapāla was no longer "protecting the earth" ? Thus we are driven to recognise the existence of a second Vināyakapāla after Devapāla's reign.²⁰

Vināyakapāla II was probably the son of Devapāla.²¹ The Bayana inscription,²² dated V.E. 1012 = 955 A.D., refers to Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpāla. The Bayana region must have been included within the kingdom of the Pratihāras, for Rajor,²³ lying farther to its north-west, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the imperial house at Kanauj. We may, therefore, assume that Mahīpāla was also a Pratihāra king. We have discussed elsewhere that Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla could be the names of one and the same person. It is not unreasonable to conclude that Mahīpāla was another name of Vināyakapāla II. It is borne out by the fact that the Bayana inscription was set up only a year after the Khajuraho inscription. It is highly improbable, although by no means impossible, that within the period of a year two kings ascended

20. Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, pp. 273-74.

21. See, however, N. Ray, Ind. Ant., Oct. 1928, p. 233.

22. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII (July, 1933), pp. 120-27

23. See Rajor inscription, Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 265-67.

24
the throne.

Vijayapāla (c.959-990 A.D.)

Vināyakapāla seems to have been succeeded by
Vijayapāla. We learn from the Rajor inscription²⁵ that
Vijayapāla was in power in the year (Vikrama) 1016-959
A.D., when the inscription was issued. It further informs us
that Vijayapāla meditated on the fast of Kṣitipāladeva.
A close study of the genealogical statements in the
²⁶
Siyadoni and Rajor inscriptions bears out that both

24. See, however, N. Ray, Ind. Ant. Oct. 1928, pp. 230-34;
Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem
Conquest, pp. 273-76.

The Osia inscription, dated V.E. 1013-956 A.D., refers
to one Vatsarāja. It is noteworthy that this record
calls him a Pratihāra (Ann. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.,
Western Circle, 1907, p. 15) Vatsarāja may have been a
scion of some local branch of the family, or a
'gubernatorial representative over whom the control
of Kanauj had become very loose'. (See Dr. R. S.
Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, pp.
275-76). This suggestion perhaps receives some
confirmation from the Rajor inscription, which represents

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Devapāla and Vijayapāla were sons of Mahāpāla I. Vijayapāla appears to have ascended the throne shortly before the date of the Rajor inscription. His successor Rājyapāla was killed in battle in the year 1019 A.D. ²⁸ we may, therefore, conclude that Vijayapāla ceased to rule long before 1019 A.D.

The Pratihāra power was on the wane. It continued to decline during the reign of Vijayapāla. We learn from records that Mūlarāja founded the Solanki or Cālukya ²⁹ dynasty at Anahilapātaka (Anhilwāda). It is not wide of

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another feudatory, Mathanadeva, as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family.

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 263-67. The Rajor inscription has been discovered among the ruins of Rarnagar in the Alwar state.
26. See ante, p. ^{107.} 97.
27. Ibid.
28. See pp. ^{134-35.} 119-20.
29. According to Merutunga's Vicāraśronī, Mūlarāja ascended the throne in V.E. 1017-961 A.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 156). But the Sambhar inscription gives the Vikrama date 998 or 941 A.D. for the event (Ind. Ant., 1929-, pp. 235-36 verse 8)

the mark to conclude the Gujarat completely slipped out of the ~~his~~ hands of the Pratihāras. The Kadi grant tells us that M⁵hārāja acquired the Sārasvata-maṇḍala by the process of his own arms. In the Vaṇnagar ³⁰prast³¹asti of the reign of Kumāra, āla, dated V.E. 1208 = 1151 A.D., we are told that M⁵hārāja took captive "the fortune of the kingdom of the Gāpotkaṭa princess". This 'shows that he must have wandered himself in southern Rajputana - the homelands of the opponents named'.

In northern Rajputana the Pratihāras appear to have exercised nominal control during the period under consideration. The Rajor inscription informs us that Mathanadeva assumed the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and ³²paramēśvara. Mathanadeva seems to have retained the fiction of his subservience to the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja, for he represents himself as a feudatory of ³³Vijayapāla. It is reasonable to assume that Mathanadeva did not all at once break off formal relations with the effete imperial power at Kānyakubja, but for some time maintained an outward show of submission.

30. Mija-bhujopārjita-Sārasvata-maṇḍala, Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 191, Line 7.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 296, 301, verse 5 ; Ibid., X, p. 77.

32. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 266

33. Ibid.

The Cāhamānas of Śākambharī appear to have made themselves supreme in Central Rajputana. We learn ^{from} the Harṣa stone inscription of Vīgraharāja II, dated V.R. 1030 = 973 A.D., that the Cāhamāna Śiṃharāja subdued the Tomara chief (nāyaka) Salavāna ³⁴ and put to flight and captured the hosts that had gathered under his command. The princes who were captured in this struggle were kept in prison till the universal sovereign of the earth, who belonged to the family of Raghu, came in person to his house to liberate them. ³⁵ It has been discussed elsewhere that the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī were the feudatories of the Gurjara-pratihāras of Kānyakubja. We may, therefore, assume that the universal sovereign referred to in the passage was ^{one of the later} ³⁶ pratihāra rulers. ³⁷ The fact that the overlord had to come

34. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 116-30.

35. The passage may also mean 'subdued the Tomara nāyaka--- together with Lavana'; see Chandarkar Ind. Ant., 1912, pp. 57ff, and Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 116 ff.

36. Kārāveśmani bhūrayasā vihartāsta vaddhi yāvadgrhe/ rānmuktyarthamupagato kaghukule bhūcakravartī svayam// Ibid, p. 122; Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 58.

37. Ibid, pp. 59, 62; see also Dr. H.C. Ray: D.R.N.I., Vol. II, p. 1064; Kielhorn, however, suggests that the reference is to Rāma or Viṣṇu and the taking away of Śiṃharāja to heaven (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 127 and note)

personally to the house of his feudatory to effect the release of prisoners is sufficient evidence of the increasing importance of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and of the decline of the imperial power of Kānyakubja. It appears that sometime before the date of the Harṣa stone inscription of Vīgraharāja II ^{the} Cāhamānas of Śākambharī had completely freed themselves from the control of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. We are told in the Harṣa stone inscription that Vīgraharāja II "rescued both the fortune of his family and the fortune of victory from the distress which had befallen them"³⁸.

In the south-west the Guhilots of Medapāṭa broke off all relations with the Pratīhāras not long after the Vikrama year 1003=946 A.D. As referred to elsewhere, Allata appears to have killed the Pratīhāra ruler Devapāla. Allata's father Bharṭṛpatta II had married the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Mahālakṣmī.³⁹ This matrimonial relation may bear out that Bharṭṛpatta II had formed an alliance with the traditional⁴⁰ rivals of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra informs us that Allata's son Naravāhana married the daughter of a Cāhamāna named Jejaya. It is

38. Ibid., pp. 122, 127, verse 20; Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 62, verse 20.

39. Ibid., 1910, p. 191, verse 4.

40. Ibid., pp. 186-91.

reasonable to conclude that the Gubila-putras of Kādapāta were ^{consolidating} their ~~part~~ position through matrimonial relations.

As stated earlier, the sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Yamunā was a menace to the Pratihāras. From the ^Kajuraho inscription, dated V.K. 1011-954 A.D., we learn that the Candella king Dhāṅga ruled the earth "playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālāñjara, and as far as Bhāsvat situated (?) on the banks of the river Mālava (Mālava-nadī); from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country (deśa), and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopābhidhāna-girī¹), which is the unique abode of marvel²." We learn from the ^Raketr stone inscription² that the Gwalior region including the strategic fort was in the possession of the ^{Imperial} rulers

1. ā-Kālāñjarā-ā-ca Mālavanadī-tīrasthite Bhāsvatah
Kālindī ~~ksaritas~~-tatādita itopya Cedideśavadhoḥ/

2. ā-tasmād-api viśmayaka nilayāt Gopābhidhānagiroryah
sāsti kṛti-māyatorjita bhūja vyāpara līlārjitā//

Ep. Ind., Vol. I pp. 129, 134, verse 45; Kāsthor
identified ³Mālavanadī with the river Vetravatī or

of Kānyakubja till at least 942-43 A.D. The occupation of the fortress of Gopādrī (Gwalior) must have been a great blow to the prestige of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Verse 6 of the Sāsbahū temple inscription of Mahipāladēva, dated V.S. 1150 = 1093 A.D., informs us that the Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman 'put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kānyakubja), and his proclamation drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopādrī, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm⁴³. The verse thus clearly indicates that the fortress of Gopādrī was occupied by the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāman as a result of his victory over the ruler of Kānyakubja. Dr. H. C. Ray⁴⁴ suggests that

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Betwa and Bhā³gvata with Bhailasvāmin, the modern Bhilsa.

Gopagiri is certainly Gopādrī identified with modern

Gwalior. See ante, p. 96, fn. 2.

42. See ante, p. 106, fn. 2.

43. --- Śrī Vajradāmābhava-

ddurvārorjitbāhu daṇḍa-vijite Gopādrī-durgge(ya) ^{dhā/}

Nirvyājam paribhūya Gādhinagarādhīśa pratāpoda-

yam yad-vīravratapūrakam, samacarat-prodghoṣanā

dīndīmah//

Ind. Ant., XV, pp. 36, 41.

44. Dr. H. C. Ray: D.H.N.I., II, pp. 822-23.

the Kacchapaghātas were at first feudatories of the imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras till they gained the mastery of the Gwalior fort by defeating the ruler of Kānyakubja. The sovereignty that they thus acquired, according to the same scholar, was short-lived, as they had very soon to yield to the rising power of the Candellas and acknowledge their hegemony. But, as we have already shown, the 'mountain called Gopagiri' came to be included within the Candella state as early as 954 A.D. If the Candellas conquered it before 954 A.D., how could Vajradāman conquer it from the Gurjara-Pratihāras ? There is no evidence to ^{show} ~~now~~ that the Candellas lost the Gwalior fort to the Gurjara-Pratihāras between 954 and 977 A.D.⁴⁵ so that it might have been ^{possible} ~~possible~~ for Vajradāman to conquer it again from the latter. We may, therefore, conclude that the Candella and the Kacchapaghāta episodes connected with the conquest of Gopādrī are not separate stories, but that they refer to a single event in which the Candellas and the Kacchapaghātas were closely associated together. In short, the fort was occupied by Vajradāman for the Candellas.⁴⁶

The possession of this fortress, as well as that

45. The only known date of Vajradāman, see the ^{Jan} ~~Jan~~ image-inscription, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLXI, p. 393.

46. J. H. Q., XXIX, H. 88-93.

of Kālañjara must have consolidated the position of the Candellas in Central India and encouraged them to attempt the systematic conquest of portions of the *Ganges valley. The Nanyaura copperplate of Dhaṅga, which was issued from Kāśikā (Banaras), shows that in V.S. 1055-998 A. D. the Candellas were certainly on the Ganges. We are told in this copperplate that Dhaṅga made a grant of the village of Yulli (?) situated in the Uśāravāha to the Bhatta Yaśodhara at Kāśikā or Banaras. The possession of Prayāga (Allahabad) by Dhaṅga is probably indicated by the fact that he is reported to have 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body in the waters of the Jāhnavī and the Kālindī. It is not unlikely that from these bases Dhaṅga may have penetrated further eastward in the Ganges valley. The Mhow inscription tells us that Dhaṅga attained to "supreme lordship after inflicting a defeat over the king of Kānyakubja." "If true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken

47. See ante, p. 109.

48. Ibid. Ant., XVI, pp. 203, 206.

49. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 139, 146, verse 55.

50. Yaś Kānyakubjam narendrah samara bhuvi vijitya prāpa sāmraṇyam-uccaib. Ibid., pp. 197, 203, verse 3; A. S. R., Vol. XII, p. 359.

away from them by the Candellas during the reign of Dhanga. But as Utbī in 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.) describes the Kanauj ruler Rājyapāla as 'the chief of all the princes of India',⁵¹ we ~~we~~ must conclude that the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratihāras for at least some time after Dhanga's death."⁵²

When the Pratihāra power was sinking the Rāṣṭrakūṭas once more appeared on the scene. Kṛṣṇa III seems to have led a second expedition to the north towards the end of his reign. The Kudlur plates of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha inform us that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gaṅgapādi, when he had set out on an expedition to the ^{north} north. The Kalyāṇ inscription⁵³ gives the Prabhava Saṁvatsara, Śaka Saṁvat 890 (current) 967-68 A.D., as the fifth regnal year of Mārasimha. We may, therefore, assume that Kṛṣṇa III had undertaken this

51. Kitab-i-Yamīnī of Utbī, trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 456.

52. Dr. H. C. Ray : D.H. N. I., vol. II, p. 680

53. Mys.A.R. (1921), p.p. 17 ff.

54. Fleet: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 305

expedition not much earlier than 963-64 A.D. Kṛṣṇa III seems to have been assisted in his northern campaign by the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha, for we are told in the Sravana Belgola ⁵⁵ epitaph that Mārasimha conquered the northern regions for Kṛṣṇa III.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace does not appear to have been over with the northern expeditions of Kṛṣṇa III. The Karka ⁵⁶ grant, dated Ś. S. 894 (expired) = 972 A.D., tells us that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II defeated the armies of the Colas and the Gurjaras. These expeditions must have dealt a severe blow to the strength of the Pratiharas.

The Paramāras appear to have taken advantage of the prevailing confusion and made themselves supreme in Mālava. That they were at Ujjayinī in 974 A.D. is borne out by their records. The Indore ⁵⁷ grant tells us that Vākpatirāja II, II

55. Kṛṣṇarāja-ottara-digvijaya vidita-Gū(gu)rjjar-ādirāja-sya E. I. Ind., Vol. V., p. 176.

56. Satyām Gūrjjara-nirjñit-āri -----
Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 265.

57. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 48-53.

while residing at Ujjayinī, in (V.) Samvat 1031-974 A.D., after worshipping Bhavānīpati, granted the tadāra named Pipparika, situated on the banks of the Narmadā, to the Jñānavijñāna-saṃpanna Vasanta Ācārya, the son of Dhanika Paṇḍita, an emigrant from Ahicchatra.

⁵⁸
The Ujjain grant, dated V.S. 1036-980 A.D., further informs us that Vakpatīrāja II, while residing at Bhagavatpura, at the request of Āsinī, the wife of the Mahāsādhanika Mahāika, granted the village of Sembalapuraka, belonging to Vinisapadra-dvādaśaka, to the Bhaṭṭārīk^ā Bhaṭṭ^āśvari-devī at Ujjainī.

That the karamāra Vikpatīrāja II alias Muñja was an independent ruler is evident from the fact that he does not retain in his public documents even a formal recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj. In addition, he assumes the full imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Karamaśvara in the Indore grant.

⁵⁹
⁶⁰
Lastly, the kingdom of Bhatinda came into

58. First noticed by R.L. Mitra, J.A.S.B., Vol. XIX, p.p.

475 ff. Then edited by Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 159-61.

59. Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 51.

60. At first the Śāhis had their capital at Uda^ābhāṇḍapur or Waihind, but probably ^{owing} ~~owing~~ to the pressure of the advancing Moslems it was shifted to Bhatinda.

prominence in the Punjab, and gradually extended "in length from Sirhind to Lughan and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Mooltan"⁶¹. We may, therefore, conclude that when Vijayapāla died the disintegration of the empire was almost complete.

Rājyapāla (c.990-1019 A.D.)

Vijayapāla appears to have been succeeded by Rājyapāla. His existence is known from the Jhusi grant of Trilocanapala, dated V.S. 1084=1027 A.D., wherein we are told that he meditated on the feet of Paramabhattāraka-⁶² Mahārājādhirāja-Paramesvara Vijayapāla. When he ascended the throne the disruptive forces were already at work. The political situation had become further complicated by the aggressions of the Moslems of Ghazni, who now directed all their "thoughts to the conquest of infidels". We must, therefore, turn to trace the course of their progress eastward in order to understand the circumstances of the ultimate overthrow of the Pratihāra power in Kanauj. Eager to acquire religious merit Subuktagin turned to the

61. Briggs, Firishta (Hist. of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power), Vol. I, p. 15.

62. Vijayapāladeva padānudhyāta Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramesvara -Śrī Rājyapāladeva. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 54.

conquest of India. Jayapāla, whose kingdom extended from Sarhind to Langhan and from Kashmir to Multan, was the first Indian ruler likely to ^{check} ~~check~~ his advance. When the Afghan encamped on the border of the Langhan territory, Jayapāla, who was frightened beyond measure on seeing the heavy odds arrayed against him, sued for peace, and offered to pay tribute in acknowledgement of the conqueror's sovereignty. Mahmud dissuaded his father from acceding to these terms of peace, and urged battle for "the honour of Islam and of Musalmans". Jayapāla, however, renewed his overtures and sent the following message to Subuktigin: "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants, and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you ^{is} ~~is~~ stones and dirt, dead bodies, and scattered bones". At this peace was made, and Jayapāla bound himself to pay a tribute of a million dirhams, 50 elephants, and ~~some~~ ^{some} cities and fortresses in his dominions.

But Jayapāla soon changed his mind and cast into prison two officers sent by Subuktagin to see that he made good his promise. When the Amir heard of this breach of faith, he hastened with his army towards Hindustan to punish Jayapāla for his "wickedness and infidelity". Jayapāla received help from his fellow princes of Ajmer, Delhi, Kālnāyara and Kanauj,⁶⁴ and at the head of a hundred thousand men he advanced to meet the invader on the same field of battle.⁶⁵ The Hindus were defeated in a sharp engagement. Subuktagin levied a heavy tribute and obtained an immense booty. "The king of Kanauj whose contingent shared in this defeat was probably Rājyapāla, although we have no evidence that he himself took any active part in the battle."⁶⁶

64. Ibid., p. 18; see also Cambridge Hist. of India, III, pp. 15-16. Mahmud's contemporary, Al Utbī, however, makes no mention of any such confederacy in the Tarikh-i-Yamīnī (Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 23). The mention of Delhi indeed throws an element of doubt upon Firishta's late account, for at this period it was a comparatively obscure town. It is significant that Utbī omits Delhi in the campaigns of Mahmud and Alberuni is ^{also} silent about it.

65. Biggs, Firishta, Vol. I, p. 18. Raverty on the other

The next attack was made by Sultan Mahmud in the year 392 Hijri = 1001 A.D. Jayapāla mustered all his forces and a severe action followed. Jayapāla was taken prisoner but was subsequently released on terms. He, however, refused to survive his disgrace and put an end to his life by throwing himself upon a funeral pyre.⁶⁷

In the spring of the year 399 A. H. or 1008 A. D. Mahmud again formed plans to punish Ānandapāla, the son and ^{successor} ~~successor~~ of Jayapāla, for having assisted Daud of Multan in his treasonable designs. Ānandapāla organised a confederacy⁶⁸ of the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjara, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer, and marched towards the Punjab to give battle to the invader. The hostile forces watched each other on the

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hand thinks that the battle took place in the Kurram valley (Darrak) or nearby (see Notes on Afghanistan, p. 321).

66. Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p. 282.

67. Firishta writes that a custom prevailed among the Hindus that when a Rājā was overpowered twice by strangers he

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plain of Peshawar for forty days, during which the Hindus were joined by the powerful Khokhar tribe of the Punjab, while the Sultan was compelled to form an entrenched camp. The camp was stormed by a rush in force of the new allies, who slew three or four thousand Musalmans in a few minutes. Victory seemed to be within the grasp of the Hindus when an unlucky accident turned the tide of the battle. Anandapala's elephant took fright and fled away. The Hindus, on seeing this, broke in disorder. The Muhammadan cavalry pursued them for two days and nights, killing eight thousand and capturing enormous booty.

The turn of Kanauj came after several years. On the 13th Jumaidi of 409 Hijri or 27th September, 1018 A. D., Mahmud started from Ghazni and crossed the Yamunā on the 20th

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became disqualified to reign (Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 38). Utbi also refers to this custom though with a slight variation (Elliot: Hist. of India, II, p. 27)

68. Briggs, Firishta, Vol. I, p. 46, There is no mention of this second confederacy also either in Utbi's Tarikh-i-Yamini, or in Ibn Asir's Kamil-ut-Tawarikh.

day of Rajab, 409 Hijri, or 2nd December, 1018. He captured all the forts that blocked his way. The Rājā of Baran (Bulandshahr)⁶⁹ tendered his submission, and according to the Muslim historians, with ten thousand men embraced Islam. The Sultan then marched ^{against} ~~against~~ the chief of Mahāwan on the Yamunā.⁷⁰ The Hindus put forth a gallant fight, but they were defeated. The Rājā killed himself to escape humiliation, and an enormous booty fell into the hands of the Sultan who now proceeded against Mathurā, the sacred city of the Hindus, which, according to the Muslim historians, was unrivalled in population and edifices, and the wonderful things which it contained could not be described by the tongue of man. Turkish iconoclasm proved too much for the defenders, and the exquisite temples were razed to the ground by the orders of the conqueror.

Mahmud, ^{then} ~~when~~ proceeded against Kanauj and appeared before its gates on the 8th day of Shaban or 20th December, 1018 A.D., with a "small body of troops, ^{leaving} ~~leaving~~ the greater

69. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 42, ^{note} ~~note~~ 3.

70. Ibid., p. 43.

71. This date has been fixed from Wustenfelds "Vergleichungs Tabellen der Muhammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung".

part of his army behind. He there saw ⁷³ "a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled." He also found that the city held a very strategic position on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, and its fortifications consisted of seven distinct forts. It was reputed, moreover, to ^{contain} ~~contain~~ 10,000 temples of high antiquity. But on hearing of Mahmud's sudden approach ⁷⁴ Rājyapāla, not daring to attempt the

72. The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī of Nizamuddin and the Tarīkh-i-Firishta have reversed the order of Mahmud's march against Kanauj. They represent him as proceeding direct to Kanauj, then back to Baran, from there to Mahāwan, and lastly to Mathurāḥ (see Elliot: Hist. of India, II, p. 460, Briggs, Firishta, I, pp. 56-58).

The correct order, however, is given in the Tarīkh-i-Yamīnī of Utbī; Rauzat-us-Safā of Mīr-Khond, and the ^{which} ~~which~~ Habīb-us-Siyar of Khond Mīr, ~~which~~ has been adopted in the text (see also Elliot: Hist. of India, II, pp. 458-59).

73. Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 57.

74. Utbī has corrupted the name into Rai Jaipāl or Rājāpāl. Mirkhond writes Jaipāl Rai and Khond Mīr makes it simply Jaipāl. Nizamuddin calls him Kora, and following him Firishta gives the form Koowur-Ray.

the serious defence of his capital, fled across the Gaṅgā⁷⁵ to Bari. The seven forts which guarded Kannauj were all taken in one day, and the Sultan's troops were let loose to plunder and make captives. The Sultan eventually returned to Ghazni laden with immense booty.

The cowardly flight of Rājyapāla angered his fellow Rājās. The Candella chief Gaṇḍa⁷⁶ formed a confederacy with the neighbouring princes to punish Rājyapāla. The command was entrusted to the Candella crown-prince named⁷⁷ Vidyādhara. He is told in the Dubkund inscription that

75. See Utbi, Elliot, Hist. of India, II, p. 45; Firishta gives the following account: "Terrified by the great force, and the formidable appearance of the invaders, he (Kocur-Ray) resolved to sue for peace, and accordingly going out, with his family, to the camp, he submitted himself to Sooltan Mahmud. The author of the Hubeboos Seer relates that he even embraced the Mohammedan faith". Briggs, Firishta, Vol. I, p. 57; see also Tabakāt-i-Akbarī of Nizamuddin (trans. B. Do) p. 10.

76. Elliot; Hist. of India, vol. II, p. 463 and ^{note} ~~note~~ 1; Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 63. The Persian texts call him Gaṇḍa,

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the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna" being anxious to serve the
illustrious Vidyātharadeva", slew Rājyapāla ^{with} ~~at~~ many
78 showers of arrows that pierced his neckbone". The same event
is probably referred to in the Mahoba inscription, ^{which} ~~which~~
represents Vidyāthara as having "caused the destruction
79 of the king of Kānyakubja". In the Kamila ^{-ut-} ~~ant~~ ^{Pr}arikh

which appears to be a mistake, due to the omission of a stroke, for the form Gaṇḍa found in inscriptions (see Ep. Ind., I, pp. 219, 221, and 222; Ibid, pp. 197 and 203; Ibid, pp. 333 and 336). Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that Handa is a mistake ^{not} ~~at~~ for Gaṇḍa but for Bīḍa (D.E.N.I. Vol. I, p. 606).

77. Ibn-ul-A'ir is wrong in representing Bīdā as king, for we know from other Moslem writers that Nanda or Ganda was alive when Mohamad undertook the punitive expedition after the murder of Rājyapala (Elliot, Hist. of India Vol. II, p. 464; see also J.R.A.S., 1909 p. 289).

78. Śrī-Vidyādhara-deva Kārya-nirataḥ Śrī-Rājynpālani hathāt,
 kaṇṭhāsthī-ccchidaneka-bāṇanivahairhatvā mahatyābhavē,
 Ep. Ind., II, pp. 233, 237, line 12.

79. ----- vihitā-Kanyākubja bhūpalabhaṅgī /22/
 Ibid, I, pp. 219, 222.

Ibn-ul-Asir also tells us that ⁸⁰Bīdā the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies, and whose kingdom was called Kajurāha, sent messengers to the Ray of Kanauj named Rājyapāla rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his dominions to the Muslims. Hostilities then broke out between them with the result that Rājyapāla was killed in the fight and most of his soldiers also ⁸¹perished."

Ahmad, who regarded the slain Rājā as his vassal, resolved to punish the chiefs who had dared to ⁸²defy his might. He marched again ⁱⁿthe autumn of A.D. ⁸³1019. ⁸⁴When he reached the river Rahib or Rāmangī

80 This is obviously a corrupted form of Vidyā(or Vidyādhara).

81. Kamil-ut-Tawārikh, ed. Dulaq (1874), Vol. IX, p. 115f.

Firishta gives the following account: "Hunda Ray, Rājā of Kālīnjar, having besieged Kunowj, slew Koowar Ray, with a number of his principal chiefs. Briggs, *Erss Firishta*, I, p. 62.

82. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizamuddin, Elliot Hist. of India, II, p. 463.

83. Ibn-ul-Asir, however, wrongly gives the date as 409 Hijri. See also ⁸⁴Briggs, *Firishta*, I, p. 62.

(contd. on the following page)

he found Tarū Jaibāl or Tarū Jaypāl (Trilocanapāla), the son of the dead king, encamped on the opposite bank.

A surprise attack by a selected body of the Sultan's troops, who had crossed the river unnoticed, threw Tarū Jaibāl's army into utter confusion. "Bari, ^{which} had become a sort of capital after Rājyapāla's retirement thither, fell ⁸⁶ on easy prey to the cruel sword of the invader⁸⁷". Mahmud next dealt with Ganda. We learn from Nizamuddin that

(Contd. from the previous page)

84. According to Utbī, the scene of the battle was the Rahib, but Nizamuddin and Firishta place it on the Yamunā.
85. Other variant readings for this name are Fur Jaipāl, or Farū, Narū, or Barū Jaypāl. "Some scholars doubt if all the forms refer to the same person. There are no doubt certain difficulties in accepting this, but we must not forget to make allowance for the author's as well as the copists' errors, and the peculiarities of the Persian or Arabic script" (see Dr. R. S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p. 287, fn.2, Dr. H.C.Ray: D.H.N.I., Vol.I, p. 602).
86. The transfer of the capital to Bari is attested by Nizamuddin and Alberuni (see Elliot: Hist: of India, Vol.I, p.54; II, p.464; Sachau: Alberuni's India, I p.199).
87. Dr.R.S.Tripathi: Hist.of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p.287.

Ganda mustered an army consisting of 36, 000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants to oppose the advance of Mahmud.⁸⁸ He further informs us that "when the Sultan encamped in front of Nanda's army, he first sent an envoy to him and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. Nanda refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nanda's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming, and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the giver of all mercies."⁸⁹ Nanda, as he lay encamped is said

88. Tabakat-i-Akbari (Bibliotheca Indica), Trans.p. 12; Ibn-ul-Asir gives the number of the army as 56,000 cavalry, 184,000 (?) infantry and 746 elephants (see Kamil-ut-Tawārikh, p. 216); Firishta gives the number as 36,000 cavalry, 45,000 infantry, and 640 elephants (see Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 64). As Firishta generally closely follows Nizamuddin, 45,000 may be a mistake for 145,000.

89. Tabakat-i-Akbari (Bibliotheca Indica), Trans.p. 12. Ibn-ul-Asir supplies a somewhat different account of these incidents. He says, "Yamīn ud-Daulah sent a
(contd. on the following page)

to have ^{become} ~~become~~ alarmed, and fled at night 'with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all munitions of war behind'. According to Ibn-ul-Asir, when Mahmud found 'the land deserted', ^{each party of the Hindu army having gone a different way,} he plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He is said to have overtaken them ⁱⁿ 'forests and thickets', and slain and captured a large number, but 'Bīdā escaped single-handed and Yamīn ud-Daulah returned victorious to Gazni'. Thus the Pratihāra empire which was long tottering to its fall, received the final blow from the ever-victorious arms of Mahmud and crumbled to pieces.

Trilocanapāla and his successors

We do not know where Trilocanapāla found refuge⁹⁰ after Mahmud's attack on Bari. The Jhusi inscription, dated V.S. 1084-1027 A.D., informs us that Trilocanapāla made a grant of the village of Labhunda in the Asurābhaka-vishaya

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party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them". Kamil-ut-Tawārikh, p. 216.

to the Brāhmanas of Pratiṣṭhāna. It is not unreasonable to assume that he was residing somewhere on the bank of the Gaṅgā near Prayāga (Allahabad)⁹¹. He assumed the full imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramasvarṇa.⁹² Presumably he exercised sovereign rights within his territory, and was free from external control.⁹³ It is difficult to ascertain when he ceased to rule. We do not have any definite information in regard to his successor. It appears likely that the Mahārājādhirāja Yasahpāla, whose Kara (Allahabad district)⁹⁴ inscription mentions the grant of a village named

91. Ibn-ul-Asir, however, wrongly states that Barū-Jaypāl was killed by the Hindus themselves in the course of his struggle with Mahmud. See Kamil-ut-Tawārīkh, p. 216.
92. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35.
93. Cunningham identifies him (Trilocanapāla) with the king of the same name belonging to the Śāhī dynasty of Udayabhāṇḍapur, who was defeated by Mahmud on the bank of the Tosi river about 1013 A.D., and died in 1021-22 A.D. = 412 A.H. See Coins of Med. India, p. 60.
94. J.n.A.S., 1927, pp. 692-95; noticed in As. Res. Vol. IX, pp. 440-41; Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1923-24, pp. 122-24; Colebrooke, Essays, II, pp. 245-46.

Kayalāsa-grāma in the Kauśāmbī-maṇḍala in the (Vikrama) samvat 1093 or 1036 A.D., ascended the throne of Kanauj after him.⁹⁵

As regards Yaśahpāla's successors, we lack information. A stone inscription,⁹⁶ discovered at Sahet-Maheth, refers to a king of Gādhipura named Gopāla. We further learn from this inscription that it was issued during the reign of Madana, whose minister Vidyādhara established a monastery for Buddhist monks. The inscription does not throw any light on the relation of Madana with Gopāla. The fact that Vidyādhara's father, Janaka, was Gopāla's minister may lend ^{some} ~~some~~ colour to the view that they belonged to the same line and the one was succeeded by the other. The form of the name with the suffix pāla, which is found in almost all the names of the later Pratīhāras, may point out that they were Pratīhāras.⁹⁷ But the Badam inscription refers to one Madana and his father Gopāla in a list of Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes ruling over Voḍamayuta, ^{which} ~~which~~ was not far from Kānyakubja. Perhaps Gopāla and Madana of the Sahet-Maheth

95. Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest, p. 289.

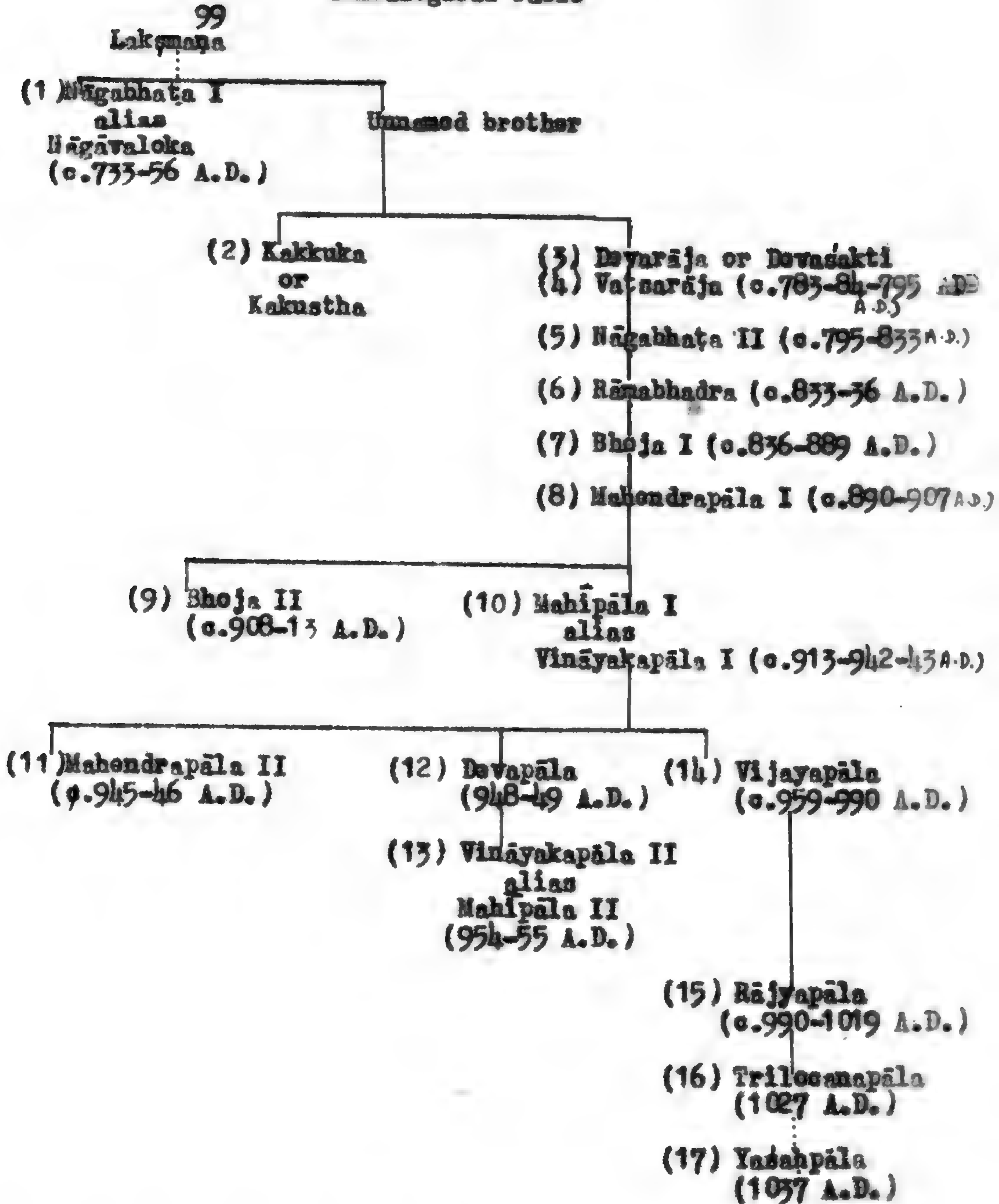
96. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1176= 1118 A.D. Ind. Ant., XVII, pp. 61-64; pp. 61-64; Ibid, XXIV, p. 176, J.A.S.B., LXI, pt. 1, extra No. 1, 60 f.

97. Ep. Ind., I, p. 61f.

inscriptions are identical with their namesakes of the
 98
 Badam record. Kānyakubja appears to have passed into
 the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes. They ruled over
 Kānyakubja till the last decade of the eleventh century
 A.D., when it was captured by Candradeva Gāhādavāla.

98. See N. B. Sanyal, The Predecessors of the Gāhādavālas,
 J.A.S.B., (1925), Vol. XXI, No. 1, pp. 103-06.

Genealogical Table



CHAPTER VII

STATE AND ADMINISTRATION¹

Nature of State: States were generally monarchical during the early mediaeval period of Indian history. The Pratihāras in consonance with the prevalent system organised a state of which the king was the head. The Pratihāras^t kings exercised despotic powers and except their immediate advisers, the people in general had no right to participate in their deliberations. The records bear testimony to the fact that their suzerainty^h was acknowledged by a number of feudatories (Sāmantas), ~~who~~^{who} very often assisted¹ them in their campaigns and rendered them personal attendance when required. They obtained² Kañcamaḥāsabha or the Rājapatti, i.e., the royal fillet or tiara³ from their suzerain. The inscriptions generally bestow on them ~~such~~^{such} titles as Mahāsāmantādhipati, Samadhiḡataseṣamaḥāsabha, and Mahāpratihāra⁴, but sometimes

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1. See V.B. Mishra: The Administrative System of the Pratihāras, J.U.G., Vol. III, pp. 105-115.
 2. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p.1f. (Una Charter); cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp.251-252; Ibid, Vol. XII, pp.95-96; Ep Ind., Vol. XII, pp.254-255; C.I.I., Vol. III, p.296, note 9 etc.; J.R.A.S. (G.B.) 1864, p. 280, fn. ¹ 2, J. of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, p. 540. (contd. on the following page)

3. ~~Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, / p. 130.~~

they adopted the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and
 Paramēśvara, as did Mathanadeva of the Rajor inscription.⁵
 It was either due to varying degrees of dependence or
 attenuation of the Pratihāra power. These feudatory
 chiefs do not seem to have been free from the central
 control. We are told in some of the inscription, that
 their grants were countersigned by provincial representatives
 of the suzerain. The Partabgarh inscription⁶ informs us
 that the Cāhamāna prince Indrarāja, after having built a
 temple to the Sun-god (Indrādityadeva), applied to the
 provincial governor of Ujjayinī to make an endowment for
 its upkeep. We further learn from the Una inscription
 that ^{Dhūka,} ~~Dhūka,~~ who was perhaps a representative of
 Mahendrapāla I, approved of a grant made by the Mahāsāmantā
 Avanivarman II Yoga.⁷

(Continued from the previous page)

~~pp. 251-252, Ibid, Vol. XII, pp. 95-96, Ep. Ind. Vol. XII~~

~~pp. 254-255, C.I.I. Vol. III, p. 296, note 9 etc.~~

~~J.R.A.S. (G.B.) 1864, p. 280, fn. 1, J. of the American
 Oriental Society, Vol. VI, p. 540.~~

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 130.

4. Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 2-6

5. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 266

6. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 176-188

7. Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 2, 6

Head of the State: The office of the head of the state, the king, was hereditary. We are told by Al Masūdī, who died in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.), that the royalty was limited to the descendants of one family and never passed to
 8
 another. Usually the choice fell upon the eldest son. Perhaps he was not recognised as a crown-prince (Yuvarāja) till he was formally anointed as such. Most probably the heir-apparent was selected during the life-time of the ruling king, for we are told by the Arab traveller Sulaiman
 9
 that 'the princes in India name their own successors'.

8. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 20.

9. Ibid, p. 6, Election as a possible means of getting a kingdom was also unknown to Somadeva, a contemporary writer on politics; cf. Rājasya mūlāṁ kṛabho vikramaseṇa. Nītivākyaṁṛta, V 26. "We get only one clear case of the election of a king which is referred to in the Rājataranginī. This case occurred in 939 A.D., when at the death of Śūrvarman there was no heir of the Utpala dynasty to succeed him. Kamalavardhana who had actually
 become
 become the de facto king, requested the Brāhmanas to elect a king, anticipating that none but himself would be elected by them. After considering the claims of several claimants, the Brāhmaṇa assembly decided to elect Yaśaskara. This, however, is the only known case of the

(Contd. on the following page -

The king assumed the grandiloquent titles of Paramabhṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara which generally signify sovereign status. But sometimes the inscriptions apply the title of Mahārāja or Śrīmat

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genuine election of a king by a section of the general population as distinguished from ministers or feudatories; but the observations of Kalhana on the occasion show that a person who resorted to such a ~~course~~ course was regarded as qualifying himself for admission into a lunatic asylum". See Dr. A. S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp. 150-151; Rājataranginī, V 456, ff. cf.-

Prāṅkarmabhirmohito vā prerito vā kumantribhiḥ/
Nābhūtsinhāsanārūḍho mūḍhaḥ kamalavardhanaḥ// 456//
Ekākinīm rāhaḥ kṣhibhām labdhvā durlabhayoṣitam/
Apraudhoṇupabhuḥjyānyadine dūtyārthayeta yaḥ//459//
Vibhūtim rabhasāvāptam yasca saṅtyajya tatkaṣaṇam/
Nītyā kāmayatonyedyuḥ sēcyastābhyām parosti kaḥ 460//
Aśringokṣaṇibhā viprāssaṇagaṇaṣṭa gokule/461//
Vaimatyena mithasteṣām nānyaḥ kopyabhyasicyata/
Kūrcā bhīṣaṇaniṣṭhayūtaiḥ svakūrcasṭhīvanaiḥ
param/463//

10. See ante, p. ^{67.} 65.

11. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6.

12. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 156 line 6.

to the names of even mighty rulers like Mihira Bhoja. Perhaps it was due to the fact that in this period 'titular formulas' were of extremely slight significance.¹³ The king appears to have performed three functions, executive, judicial and military. He had no legislative power except to issue occasional Rajasāsanas or royal edicts by way of administrative measures. The laws were already there, believed to be ordained and the king had merely to execute them. As the head of the executive, he perhaps made high appointments, looked into the state finances, granted audience to envoys and collected secret information from spies. He ^{appears} ~~appears~~ to have been considered as the fountain of justice. He may safely ^{assume} ~~assume~~ that the judges transacted ^{business} ~~business~~ in the name of the king and the sentences passed by them were his sentences. People could make appeal to him and it was his duty to render them justice without delay. His decisions must have been final and inviolable. His military function obviously included the command of the army in war. He seems to have ~~delivered~~ deliberated over plans of offence and defence with his Mahāsenāpati (chief commander) or Senāpati (commander of troops) and appointed high military officers. Medhatithi, a

13. J.Bq.Br.R.A.S. Vol. XII, pp. 409-10; J.R.A.S. 1909,

pp. 248-249; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 90

commentator of our period, says, "if the realm is invaded and its people are being massacred, one must die while fighting. If a king does not fight on such an occasion, he falls into a blind darkness"¹⁴. He further tells us that the final voice of making war and peace rested¹⁵ with the king.

Next to the king were the chief queen (Agra or Rattamahisī) and the crown-prince (Yuvarāja). The former perhaps received a handsome allowance for her maintenance and acted as a regent in case her husband expired leaving a minor to succeed him. She appears to have had ^{some} ~~some~~ 'royal prerogatives' of granting land. Perhaps her grant was to be sanctioned by the ^{ruling} ~~ruling~~ king before it could take effect. The records testify to the fact that the Yuvarāja had the status of a Pañcamahāśabda Sāmanta and was invested with a necklace which was the insignia of his office. It is reasonable to assume that he held an honoured position in the realm. Like the chief queen he seems to have been invested with certain 'royal prerogatives' of granting villages and land. Most probably his grants were also to be sanctioned by the king. When the ruling emperors were old and of a retiring or religious

14. *Heddhathu on Mann*, VII, 90.

15. *Ibid.*, VII, 56.

disposition, the heir-apparent perhaps exercised almost all powers of the ruling monarch. We may well conclude that he usually stayed at the capital.

Officers of the State: The king must have been assisted by a number of functionaries to carry on the day-to-day government. The names of all the officials do not figure in the Pratihāra records, ^{some} ~~some~~ of them are, however, mentioned in the official documents of other contemporary states. It may be pointed out that the administrative system of all the states of Northern India in our period was more or less the same. We come across the following functionaries :-

- (1) Mahāmantrin or ¹⁶ Chief Minister. He advised the king on matters of the state. The prefix 'Mahā' indicates that he was the chief among other counsellors.
- (2) Purohita or Chaplain. He assisted the king in the performance of rites and received gifts from him.
- (3) Rājāmātya or Minister of the king. ¹⁷
- (4) Mahākumārāmātya or Chief Minister of the heir-apparent. ¹⁸
- (5) (Mahā)sāndhivigrahika or Chief Officer for peace and war ¹⁹
i.e., foreign minister.
- (6) Mahāsenādhipati or Commander-in-Chief. ²⁰

16. Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI, p. 177; Rājasekhara: Karpūramahjarī, pp. 12, 13, 18. In the Una charter the term Amātya occurs in the sense of a counsellor. (contd. on the following page)

- (7) Mahādandanāyaka²¹ or Chief criminal judge.
- (8) Mahāpratīhara²² or Chief Usher or Lord Chamberlain.
- (9) Mahāsāmanta²³ or the Chief officer over the Sardars.
- (10) Mahākshapatalika²⁴ or Chief Keeper of records. Akshapatalika was his subordinate.
- (11) Mahādharmaādhya²⁵ksha or Chief-justice.
- (12) Mahāmudrādhikṛta²⁶ or Great Mint-master.
- (13) Mahābhogika²⁷ or Chief Officer in charge of revenue.
- (14) Dausādhasādhnika²⁸: Literally it means those charged
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17. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 249.
18. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256.
19. Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 20.
20. Siyadoni inscription: Ibid, Vol. I, p. 173.
21. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256; J.A.S.B., XLVII, pt. I, 804.
22. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 173.
23. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 185.
24. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 129.
25. J.A.S.B., XLIV, pt. I, p. 5.
26. Ibid,
27. Ibid, p. 6.
28. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 250; Ibid, I, p. 74; Mr. Wilkins calls him 'Chief obviator of difficulties'. See also Prof. Lassen's interpretation, J.A.S.B., XLIV, pt. I, pp. 5-6

with the accomplishment of what is difficult to accomplish. If this term is identical with

²⁹
'dauhsādhika', it may mean 'Policeman'.

³⁰
(15) Dhandapāsika or Policeman.

³¹
(16) Dandoddharanika: either a judicial officer from danda in the sense of fine; or a Police-officer, from the same word in the sense of rod of chastisement.

³²
(17) Cauroddharanika or officer entrusted with the pursuit of robbers.

(18) Dandika or Jailor.

³³
(19) Daśāparādhika: either investigator of crimes or magistrate entrusted with the punishment of ten
³⁴
offences.

29. See A. Weber, Hala, 406, 557.

30. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 58; Mr. Rajendralal Mitra translates it as 'keeper of the instrument of punishment'. J.A.S.B., XLVII, pt. I, p. 804.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 5.

32. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256.

33. Ibid; J.A.S.B., XLVIII/ p. 804.

34. Ten offences are as follows: (a) Three offences of body, theft, murder and adultery; (b) four offences of speech, harsh words, untruthful words, libellous words and pointless words; and (c) three offences of
(contd. on the following page)

- (20) Dūtapreṣṇika or Spies.
- (21) Balādhikṛta³⁵ or Commandant.
- (22) Balādhyakṣa³⁶ or Superintendent of the Forces.
- (23) Gaṇmika³⁷: perhaps the head of the thirty foot-men.
- (24) Cāṭabhāṭa³⁸ or irregular and regular soldiers.³⁹
- (25) Rājaputra⁴⁰ or Kshatriya warriors related to the king.
- (26) Yuktaka⁴² or Accountant.
- (27) Niyuktaka⁴² or Deputy Accountant.
- (28) Tantrapāla⁴³ or Charge d' affaires.
- (29) ^Kṛāyastha or Karaṇika, i.e., the scribe. He was the ^{writer} ~~writer~~ of the records or legal documents.

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mind, coveting others property, wrong thinking and devotion to what is not true.

35 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 185.

36. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 250

37. Ind. Ant., Vol XXI, p. 256.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. ^{IX} ~~IX~~, p. 5; Vogel^e, however, thinks that

Cāṭa is equivalent to modern cār or "head of a pargana responsible for the internal management of a district, for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of

(contd. on the following page)

- (30) Bhāṇḍāgarika⁴⁵ or Superintendent of Stores.
- (31) Antahpurika⁴⁶ or Superintendent of the Seraglio.
- (32) Antarāṅga⁴⁶ Servant of the interior or perhaps confidential servant.
- (33) Bhiṣaka or the Physician. He took care of the health of the king and was ^{perhaps} ~~perhaps~~ the head of the Public Health Department.
- (34) Naimittika or Astrologer. He forecast the effects of particular omens or conjunction of the stars. The kings ^{perhaps} consulted him before ^{any} ~~any~~ undertaking.
- (35) Dūtaka⁴⁷ or Messenger.

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criminals". According to the same scholar, ⁶ Bhata, which is usually compounded with Cāta, should be taken to mean 'an official ^{subordinate} ~~subordinate~~ to the head of a pargana'.

Antiquities of the Camba state, pt. I, pp. 131-32.

Indrajī translates the term as Cātān prati bhatah, i.e., soldiers against robbers. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 175, note 41.

39. See, however, Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 81.

40. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 249.

41. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 5. See, however, Dr. Thomas'

(contd. on the following page)

- (36) **Dūta** or Envoy. He was responsible for maintaining proper relations with the foreign powers.
- (37) **Ṣaṣṭhādhikṛta**⁴⁸: Superintendent or Comptroller of the ṣaṣṭhāṃśa or ṣaḍbhāga, i.e., the sixth part of the produce due to the king.
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interpretation. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 467.

42. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 5; Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 256.

43. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 176.

44. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 129.

45. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 20.

46. J.A.S.^{As.}, XLIV, pt. I, p. 5.

47. Ep. Ind, Vol. XIX, p. 18; Fleet remarks: " The Dūtaka's office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it was then to have the charter drawn up and delivered".

C.I. I, Vol. III, p. 100, note 3.

48. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 249.

- (38) Hastyaśvagomahīṣyajāvikādhyaḥ⁴⁹ or Superintendent of elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.
- (39) Naukādhyaḥ⁵⁰ or Superintendent of Boats.
- (40) Daśagrāma⁵¹ or Officer in charge of groups of ten villages.
- (41) Kṣhetraṇa⁵² or Supervisor of Cultivators.
- (42) Vāsapakas or Officials whose duty it was to assign places of residence to strangers.⁵³
- (43) Dṛaṅga⁵⁴ or Officer in charge of Towns.
- (44) Ākarādhikāra-puruṣas or Officers in charge of Mines.
- (45) Kārayitā⁵⁵ or Overseer.
- (46) Rājarājana⁵⁶ or Feudatory Chief.

49. Ibid., p. 250.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., fn. 11

52. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256.

53. Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 202; cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 249; Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 189, n. 38; Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 69, n. 31; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 285.

54. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 5.

55. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 247.

56. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 249.

Besides these officers, there were a number of state functionaries attached to the different administrative units. For administrative purposes the empire was parcelled into units ^{known} as bhukti or bhūmi, maṇḍala, viṣaya, agrahāra and grāma.

Provincial Administration: The province was called bhukti, as the Śrāvastī-bhukti in the Dighwa-Dubauli copperplate⁵⁷ and the Kānyakubja-bhukti in the Barah copperplate⁵⁸ or bhūmi, as the Gurjaratrā-bhūmi in the Daulatpur copperplate⁵⁹. It was put in charge of an officer designated as Rāṣṭrapati⁶⁰, Rājasthāniya⁶¹, or Uparika-⁶²Mahārāja. We may safely assume that he was appointed by

57. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112.

58. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18.

59. Ibid., V., 211.

60. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 193.

61. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 5; Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji considers this officer as 'foreign secretary'; Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 82. According to Dr. Stein, this officer was equivalent to a modern Chief-justice. Rājat. Trans. Bk. VII, p. 316, Note. A better meaning

the central government. Some of the provincial governors were perhaps members of the royal household and others were either feudatories, local chiefs or imperial officials. It may be concluded that the governors had their own courts at their capitals which were replicas of the imperial court on a smaller scale. Perhaps they enjoyed the status of Mahāsāmantas and bore the title of Rājā. It was left to them to settle the revenue of the villages and fields lying within their jurisdiction, for we learn from inscriptions that they were requested not to interfere with the peaceful enjoyment of the rent free land, and villages granted by the emperors.

They ^{appear} ~~app~~ to have been assisted by a number of subordinate officers. Perhaps one ^{such} ~~such~~ officer was the ⁶³ Vyavahārin or Controlling officer. He supervised the grants

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would be a viceroy or governor, since in the Mandasor inscription (Fleet, C.I.I., No. 35) the term 'Rājasthāna' is used in the sense of a province.

62. Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 114, 127, etc.,

63. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 18.

that were made by kings with a view to avoiding their falling into abeyance. Oparikāmatya seems to have been their minister. ⁶⁴ Dūtaka or messenger conveyed the orders of kings to them. The military forces were posted at strategic points for the defence of the provinces. We are told in the ⁶⁵ Kartabgarh inscription that Mahendrapāla II stationed one Śrīśarman as his commandant (Balādhikṛta) at Mandapikā or Māṇḍī which was perhaps the military headquarters for the southern regions. Forts appear to have been built for provincial defence. They were placed in charge of officers ⁶⁶ called Koṭṭapāla or guardian of fort. We learn from the Vaillabhattasvamin (Gwalior) inscription that a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa from Ānandapura in Gujarat (called Lāṭa-maṇḍala in this inscription) named Alla was appointed keeper of the Gwalior fort by Ādivarāha, i.e., emperor Bhoja of Kanauj, in recognition of his merits. ⁶⁷ His father Vaillabhatta, who was in the service of Rāmadeva, is designated as ⁶⁸ Maryādādhurya or Dhurodhikārī, meaning chief of the

64. See ante, p. 135 153.

65. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 180, 185-87.

66. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256.

67. Śrīmadādivarāhaṇa trailokya-vijigīṣuṇā tadgumānyah
parijñāya kṛto gopādri pālano. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 156

68. Ibid.

boundaries. Perhaps it was one of his functions to watch that the existing boundaries were not disturbed by any foreign power.⁶⁹

Next to the bhukti was the maṇḍala. According to the Barah copperplate,⁷⁰ ^{these} two terms were not synonymous. The head of the maṇḍala was perhaps Maṇḍalāśvara or Maṇḍalika. It may be assumed that the government of the Maṇḍala was organised on provincial lines.

District Administration: The bhuktis were further divided into a number of districts called viṣayas such as Asurabhak-
⁷¹viṣaya, ⁷²Vālayikā-viṣaya, ⁷³Daṇḍavānaka-viṣaya, and
⁷⁴Vārāṇasī-viṣaya. ⁷⁵The term bhoga also appears to have been used sometimes in the same sense. The viṣayas were in charge of officers known as Viṣayapatis.⁷⁶ The head of the

69. See Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the ^{Moslem} Muslim Conquest, p. 340, fn. 2.

70. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18.

71. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 34.

72. Ibid., XV, p. 112.

73. Ep. Ind., Vol. V., p. 211.

74. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 141.

75. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 266

76. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 249.

bhoga was perhaps called Bhogapati. It is very likely that the Viṣayapatis were appointed by the king. But the possibility of their being appointed by the provincial governor subject to the approval of the central authority cannot be also ruled out, as we know from the Damodarpur copperplate of Kumāragupta, dated 443-44 A.D., that Cīrātadatta, the governor of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti,⁷⁷ appointed Vetravarman as the Viṣayapati of Koṭivarṣa. Perhaps their office was hereditary, and they enjoyed the status of the feudatories (Sāmantas). It is not ^{unreasonable} ~~unreasonable~~ to suppose that they were associated with a Council of Viṣayamahattak^{as} or notables. Perhaps subordinate to them were such officers as Daśāparādhika (either investigator^t of crimes or magistrate entrusted with the punishment of ten offences), Gauroddharanika (the officer entrusted with pursuit of robbers), Daṇḍika (Jailor), Daṇḍapāśika (Policeman), Daṇḍanāyaka (Magistrate), Śaulkika (Collector of Customs), Kṣhetrapa (Supervisor of Cultivators), Prāntapāla (Protector of boundaries of the state) and Kottapāla (Custodian of fort). They seem to have exercised considerable revenue powers, ^{since} ~~since~~ they are mentioned in

77. Ibid, Vol. XV, p. 130, See also Ibid, pp. 138-142

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77. Ibid, Vol. XV, p. 130, See also Ibid, pp. 138-142

copperplates among officers requested not to disturb the possession of the donees of lands or villages granted. They must have been responsible to the provincial governors (Rāṣṭrapatis) or the central government for the revenue of their districts. Remission of taxes by subordinates probably required their sanction in order to be operative. It cannot, however, be asserted whether they on their part referred the matter to their superiors before ^{passing} ~~passing~~ their own orders on the point. Their headquarters were perhaps called Adhiṣṭhāna or Pattana.

The ^aViṣṇas were subdivided into smaller units known as agra⁷⁸hāras or Tahsils. They consisted of a number of villages. Most probably the heads of the agra⁷⁸hāras, like the Viṣayapatis, were appointed by their immediate superior officers, i.e., Viṣayapatis, subject to the approval of the provincial authority.

Village Administration: The grāma or village was the last administrative unit. It seems to have fixed sites and boundaries. The head of the grāma was called ~~Grāmapati~~ ⁷⁹ or Gāmagānika. ⁸⁰ Such terms as Mahattara and ⁸¹

78. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 18; The Gāhādavāla records use the term Pattalā for Tahsil.

79. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 193.

80. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 249.

and Mahattama also occur in inscriptions. They were used either in the same sense or stood for associate officers varying in rank. The headman was perhaps appointed or recognised by the state. He must have been responsible to the government for the maintenance of peace and order within the pale of his jurisdiction. There is hardly any doubt that the king had the right of control and supervision.

Probably the Grāmapati or headman administered the grāma with the assistance of a village council composed of the village elders. We may assume that the council exercised considerable jurisdiction over the village disputes. It might have limited powers over criminal cases, but its civil jurisdiction as usual would have been unlimited. Owing to his position and status the headman must have taken a prominent part in the meetings of the village council. Perhaps he was also the village magistrate ~~having~~ ⁸³ having powers to try petty ~~and~~ criminal cases. Most probably he organised Public Works Committees and raised funds for them by public

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81. Ibid., IX, p.5; Bomb.Gaz., Vol. I, pt. 1 p. 81.

82. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 34.

83. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 244 ff.

subscriptions and by securing government contribution. We may safely assume that negotiations for the amount of the government demand were carried on by him. He appears to have controlled and supervised the watch and ward arrangements. The village records, which were regularly kept, were also in his custody. The invariable mention of the village headman in the land and village grants shows that he was intimately connected with the revenue administration. We may conclude that he was remunerated for his services.

Perhaps there were also separate Committees to look after the general affairs of the village as well as its ^{particular} ~~particular~~ affairs like the excavation of tanks and wells and watching them from being misused. Another feature of the village administration appears to have been that persons who were the recipients of the rent free lands or villages had the right to try cases of ten offences and the privilege of grazing their cattle up to the limits of their villages. The officers were requested not to disturb the peaceful enjoyment of such villages or lands. These villages were free of forced labour of every kind and were granted with treasure-trove and other minor

⁸⁴
funds.

Municipalities and Guilds: Some sort of municipal government was also known in this period. The Siyadoni inscription informs us that the affairs of the town were managed by an assembly of five called 'Pañcakula' and by a committee of two, appointed from time to time by the town.⁸⁵ Every trade appears to have had its guild and no man could offend the guild with impunity. The Vaillabhatta-svāmin (Gwalior) inscription refers to such guilds, viz., Tailika-srenī (the guild of oil-millers) and Mālika-srenī⁸⁶ (the guild of gardeners). These guilds had their heads known as Tailikamahattaka and Mālikamahar⁸⁷ respectively. The Siyadoni and Rehwa inscriptions mention a number of traders such as oil-makers, stone-cutters, betel-sellers, sugar-boilers, potters, distillers of spirituous liquors⁸⁸ and horse-dealers,⁸⁹ who perhaps formed themselves into different corporations for regulating their business. These guilds must have developed a corporate life and law-abiding nature

84. See Unn Charter; Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 5; Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 186.

85. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 170, 177.

86. Ibid, p. 160, 161.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid, pp. 167-68, 174-78.

89. Ibid., p. 184-90

in members of various communities.

Revenue Administration: Revenue was derived partly from taxation and partly from sources other than taxation. We may assume that an appreciable portion of revenue was raised from the land. The principle governing this appears to have been that a fixed share of the produce of the land should be given to the state either in cash or in kind, preferably the latter. It ~~was~~ was generally $1/6$ th of the produce. We are told by Alberuni that one-sixth of the income made from the crops or from the cattle was to be paid to the ruler in recognition of the protection which he afforded to the subjects, their property and their families.⁹⁰

The state imposed such taxes as Udranga⁹¹ (tax imposed upon the permanent tenants), Uparikara⁹² (tax on cultivators who had no proprietary rights in the soil), and Bhāga⁹³ (share) upon the tenants and the land. We learn from contemporary ~~of~~ records that the village lands were measured by 'paramesvariya-hastas'⁹⁴ (foyal yards) and

90. Sachau: ^{Alberuni's} ~~Alberuni's~~ India, Vol. II, p. 149.

91. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 78.

92. Ibid.; cf. C.I.I., III, p. 98.

93. Ep. Ind., Vol IX, p.5; Ibid, XIV, p.184; cf. Gautama, X,

24-7; Manu, VIII, 130; Kautilya, V, 2 etc.

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'nālukas' and were well demarcated by boundaries.⁹⁵ The state does not appear to have been the owner of the entire cultivable land in the kingdom. A conjecture may, however, be hazarded that it owned some pieces^{of land} in most of the villages situated in the realm. These might have been lands lapsed to it as heirless property or confiscated by it for offences committed by their former owners or were actually purchased by it for state purposes. It may further be added that some of these lands would have been waste lands brought under cultivation by the government. We may safely conclude that the produce of these domains was one of the sources of revenue to the state.

Another source of revenue was trade. Duties were levied upon imports and exports, for we gather from contemporary records that there were regular customs-houses called Mattadāva or Mandapikā.⁹⁶ The collector of customs was called Śaulkika.⁹⁷ It would not be wide of the

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94. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, 159.

95. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 113, 114. According to Alberuni (Sachau: Alberuni's India, I, p. 165), they had a measure called bīsī (? sibi); 4 bīsī=1prastha; 4 bīsī=1 kudava.

96. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 262.

97. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 250.

mark to assume that the state also levied taxes on sales and manufactures. The exact scale of taxation adopted by the Pratihāras is not known to us. We learn from the Smṛiti writers like Viṣṇu,⁹⁸ Gautama,⁹⁹ Śukra,¹⁰⁰ and Baudhāyana¹⁰¹ that it varied between 5 and 10%. We may, however, conclude that the Pratihāras adopted a scale approved of by the Hindu Śāstras.

The trade transactions¹⁰² seem to have been carried on by barter, grain being the ordinary medium. But coins were not unknown. The Siyadoni inscription gives a list of them. The chief coin which it refers to was the silver drama of Mihira Bhoja. It further refers to several distinct kinds of dramas such as Drama,¹⁰² Lañciyaka-drama,¹⁰³ Vigrahapāla-drama,¹⁰⁴ Vigrahapālīya-drama,¹⁰⁵ Vigrahapāla-satka-drama,¹⁰⁶ Vigrahatuñgiya-drama,¹⁰⁷ Śrīmadādivarāha-drama,¹⁰⁸ Varāhekaya vimśopaka (?),¹⁰⁹ Vigraha-drama visolṣaka,¹¹⁰ Kapardaka,¹¹¹ Kākinī and Varātaka,¹¹² In addition to these, there are

98. Viṣṇu, III, 30.

99. Gautama, II, 1, 26.

100. Śukra, IV, 2, 110.

101. Baudhāyana, 1, 10, 15

102. See Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 4.

102. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 177, line. 29.

103. Ibid., pp. 173, 177, lines 6, 37.

104. Ibid., p. 177, line. 30. (contd. on the following page)

certain doubtful gold issues of Mahipāla. We may conclude that the government had the monopoly to mint coins.

**

The state was the sole owner of mines and forests. It is very likely that the mines were granted to corporations or individuals for fixed terms of lease and mining operations were carried out by previous licenses obtained. In regard to forests, we may well conclude that their produce was another source of revenue to the state.

It appears that the state had the sole right of manufacturing arms, which brought considerable ^{sum} ~~sum~~ to the state exchequer. Taxes were imposed upon prostitutes, for we are told by Alberuni that the kings made {them (harlots)}

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105. Ibid, p. 176, line 24.

106. Ibid, p. 174, line 9.

107. Ibid, p. 175, line 20.

108. Ibid, p. 175, line 37.

109. Ibid, p. 174, line 10.

110. Ibid, p. 176, line 26.

111. Ibid, p. 175, line 20.

112. Ibid, p. 179, line 345; see also Bomb. Gaz. I, pt. I,

p. 527; J.R.A.S., 1909 p. 54, for Gadhiya or Gadhaiya coins.
 see Elliot, Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 4.

an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons." ¹²³

It may safely be assumed that court fees and fines augmented the state revenue. The state might have levied extra taxes in case of emergency to tide over the difficulty. Perhaps exactions were made to meet the expenses of the regular and irregular military and police forces when they were quartered in a village while on march. It is just possible that the government also regulated gambling, which according to ^{Ibn Khurdadhab} ~~Ibn Khurdadhab~~ ¹¹⁴ was one of the sources of recreation, to raise its income.

In addition to these sources, the government imposed certain other taxes to augment its revenue. The Rājor ¹¹⁵ inscription refers to such dues as Bhoḡa (enjoyment), Mayūta (not intelligible), Khalabhikshā (cess on threshing ¹¹⁶ floors), Krasthaka (perhaps a cess on ^{each} such ¹¹⁶ rastha of

113. Sachau; Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 157

114. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 17

115. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 264, 266

116. cf. also Ibid, II, p. 179, V.42; See Ind. Ant., Vol.

XVIII, p. 114, line 55 for Khaleka as a revenue term.

grain over and ^{above} above the usual grain-share), Skandhaka (probably a cess at a certain rate per load), and Hārganaka (possibly benevolences levied upon the villages).¹¹⁷ The Una¹¹⁸ inscriptions refer to Bhoga-bhāga, Hiraṇyadāna (possibly dues commuted into cash),¹¹⁹ Daśāparādhadāna (fines for ten offences), Collaka and other minor taxes. The list may be further supplemented from the contemporary records which refer to Kara (rent proper, payable in cash or kind), Jalakara (tax on water), Gokara (a tax on cattle), Viṣayadāna (some kind of district tax), Nidhnikshopa (treasure-trove), Ākara (a tax on mines), Aputrikādāna (perhaps the crown's right to confiscate the property of one of who dies sonless), and Naṣṭibharata (Naṣṭabharata?). Certain taxes, viz., three viṃśopakas on every sack of agricultural produce brought for sale to the market, two pālikas on every ghaṭaka-kūpaka of clarified butter and oil), fifty leaves on every collikā (of leaves) brought from outside the town and two viṃśopakas per mensem on every shop,¹²⁰ were imposed for religious purposes.

117. See Dr. Ghosal: Hindu Revenue System, pp. 294, 296, 298, etc.

118. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 5, 10.

119. See Dr. R.S. Tripathi: Hist. of Kanauj to the ^{Moslem} Muslim Conquest, p. 318

Contemporary records further refer to *Vishti* or forced labour. The Hindu polity has laid down the proposition that every citizen ought to pay something by way of taxation to the state in return for the protection that ^{he} ~~the~~ gets, howsoever poor he may be. Taxation, whether in cash or in kind, was both impracticable and cruel in the case of the poor. From inscriptions we learn that the state levied a tax in labour from them. It was obviously impossible for the central government to collect this tax in labour in the central treasury. We may, therefore, ^{assume} ~~assume~~ that it was realised partly during the tours of the king and the officers of the central government, partly for the routine government work in the village like the cleansing of the government granary, weighing or measuring the land-tax paid in kind etc., and partly when public works in villages like the excavation of village tanks or wells had to be carried out. On such occasions the headman could compel the artisans and the labourers ²² to work for the state or the village community. Alberuni informs us that the

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120. See Rajor inscription, Ep. Ind., III, p. 264-266.

121. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 78; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 10;
Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 64.

122 Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 132.

Brāhmaṇas were ^{not} ~~not~~, like the other castes, bound to pay taxes and to perform services to the kings.

The revenue department was in charge of an officer called Mahābhogika. ¹²³ The prefix 'mahā' may point out that he was the chief officer and there were subordinates to assist him. The revenue-office was called Adhikaraṇa. It may be added that records were regularly kept and the ordinary principles of revenue administration were minutely observed by the imperial government of Kanauj.

Judicial Administration: The king appears to have been the chief administrator of law and justice. We learn from contemporary ~~xxxx~~ records that the king did not exercise legislative power except the right to issue Rājāsāsanas or royal edicts and interpret law. We are told by Medhātithi that the sources of Dharma (law) were the Vedas, including the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads; the Smṛtis, which are the conscientious recollections of the learned and the virtuous; Ācāra, the customary practice of the learned and the virtuous (but it is authoritative only when there is no Vedic and Smṛti text for or against it);

123. See ante, p. ¹⁵⁰ ~~142~~.

and *Ātmatuṣṭi* (equity), i.e., what satisfies the conscience of the learned and the virtuous.¹²⁴ Alberuni informs us that the Hindus believed that "their religious law and its single precepts derived their origin from Rṣis, their sages, the pillars of their religion, and not from the prophet, i.e., Nārāyaṇa"¹²⁵. We may, therefore, conclude that the king administered justice according to the laws approved of by the Hindu Śāstras. The petitioners could present their petitions to the king and it was his duty to mete out justice to them. It may be pointed out that his judgment was supreme and inviolable in the land.

Next to him were perhaps the civil and criminal courts to try cases. The kingdom would have been covered with a network of these courts. Our records refer to two officers - Mahādaṇḍanāyaka¹²⁶ and Mahādarmādhyakṣa¹²⁷. The latter appears to have been the Chief-justice and the former was most probably the chief criminal judge. We have no direct evidence as to the method of appointing these judges. Nowadays three methods are pursued - election by the legislature, as in Switzerland; popular election, as

124. Medhātithi on Manu, II, 2. 6.

125. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 106.

126. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256; J. A. S. B., XLVII, pt. I, p. 804.
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in the individual states of the United States of America; and appointment by the head of the executive as in very many cases. In our period election by the legislature was out of question, for there was no legislature as such. Popular election was not applicable, for the state was monarchical. It may, therefore, be concluded that the judges were appointed by the king. They appear to have got appointments because of their independence of character, great learning in the various branches of law, and impartiality.

In addition to these courts, there were popular courts as referred to by the Arab traveller Sulaiman.¹²⁸ Every village had perhaps its council which exercised both civil and criminal jurisdictions.¹²⁹ It may safely be ~~assumed~~^{assumed} that the parties, when they felt dissatisfied

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127. Ibid, XLIV, pt. I, p. 5.

128. Sulaiman Sandagar, p.81, Hindi Translation, published by the Nāgarī Pracārini Sabhā, Kāchi, 1922.

129. See ante, pp. ^{162.} 141-42.

with the decision of such popular courts as the village council, appealed to the king or his courts for justice. Perhaps the power to decide the village cases was theoretically invested in the whole body of the village elders. In practice, however, the actual examination of parties, their witnesses etc., seems to have been delegated to a small sub-committee, the members of which probably received a certain honorarium from the fees that were charged for filing suits. People forming different corporate bodies perhaps appointed some learned elders to decide disputes arising among themselves. Presumably they were arbitrators than judges in the real sense of the word, for they decided cases by arbitration.

According to Alberuni, when a certain case was ^{filed} ~~fixed~~ the judge demanded from the suitor a document written against the accused person in a well-known writing which was thought suitable for writs of the kind, and in the document the well-established proof of the justice of his suit. In case there was no written document, the contest was settled by means of witnesses. ~~without a written document.~~ The witnesses were not to be less than four, but there might be ¹³⁰ more. Perhaps a case was not dismissed on the plea of the

absence of witnesses. Alberuni tells us that if the suitor was not able to prove his claim, the defendant had to swear, but he might also tender the oath to the suitor by saying 'swear thou that thy claim is true and I will give thee what thou ¹³¹climest'. If the object was of no great importance, and the suitors agreed that the accused would swear, the latter simply swore before five learned Brahmins in the following words: 'If I lie, he shall have as recompense as much of my goods as is equal to the eightfold of the amount of his claim'. A high sort of oath was that "the accused person was invited to drink the *bīṣh* (Visha?) called *brahmana* (?). It was one of the worst kinds; but if he spoke the truth, the drink did not do him ^{any} harm."

A still higher sort of ordeal was that they brought the man to a deep and rapidly flowing river, or to a deep well with much water. Then he spoke to the water: 'Since thou belongest to the pure angels, and knowest both what is secret and public, kill me if I lie, and preserve me if I speak the truth'. Then five men took him between them and threw him into water. If he had spoken the truth, he was not to drown and thus was saved. A still higher sort

131. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 158.

of ordeal was that the judge sent both claimant and the defendant to the temple of the most venerated idol of the town or realm. There the defendant had to fast during that day. On the following day he dressed in new garments, and posted himself together with the claimant in that temple. Then the priests poured water over the idol and gave it to him to drink. If he, then, had not spoken the truth, he at once vomited blood. Besides this, the defendant was placed on the scale of a balance, and was weighed; whereupon he was taken off the scale, and the scale was left as it was. Then he invoked as witnesses for the truth of his deposition the spiritual beings, the ^eangels, the heavenly beings, one after the other, and all which he spoke he wrote down on a piece of paper, and fastened it to his head. He was a second time placed in the scale of the balance. In case he had spoken the truth, he now weighed more than the first time. There was a still higher sort of ordeal. They took butter and sesame-oil in equal quantities, and boiled them in a kettle. Then they threw a leaf into it, which by getting flaccid and burned was to them a sign of the boiling of the mixture. When the boiling was at its height, they threw a piece of gold into the kettle and ordered the

defendant to fetch it out with this hand. If he had spoken the truth, he fetched it out. The highest kind of ordeal was that "they made a piece of iron so hot that it was near melting, and put it with a pair of tongs on the hand of the defendant, there being nothing between his hand and the iron ^{save} a broad leaf of some plant, and under it some few and scattered corns of rice in the husks. They ordered him to carry it seven paces, and then he might throw it to the ground. If he was burnt, he was declared ¹³² guilty".

Caste considerations were made at the time of imparting justice: From Alberuni we learn that "the law of murder was that if the murderer was a Brāhmaṇa, and the murdered person a member of another caste, he was only bound to do expiation consisting of fasting, prayers and alms giving. If the murdered person was a Brāhmaṇa, the Brāhmaṇa murderer had to answer for it in a future life; for he was not allowed to do expiation, because expiation wiped off the sin from the sinner, whilst nothing could wipe off any of the mortal crimes from a Brāhmaṇa, of which the greatest were: " the murder of a Brāhmaṇa called vajrabrahmahatyā; further, the killing of a ^{cow} ~~cow~~, the drinking of wine, ^{whoredom,} ~~whoredom~~, specially with the wife of

one's own father and teacher". However, the kings did not for any of these crimes kill a Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya, but they confiscated his property and banished him from the country. If a man of a caste under those of the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya killed a man of the same caste, he had to do expiation, but besides the kings inflicted upon him a punishment in order to establish an example. The law of theft directed that the punishment of the thief was to be in accordance with the value of the stolen object. Accordingly, sometimes a punishment of extreme or of middling severity was necessary. If the object was very great, the kings blinded a Brāhmaṇa and mutilated him, cutting off his left-hand and right-foot, or the right-hand and left-foot, whilst they mutilated a Kshatriya without blinding him, and killed thieves of the other castes.

Law of Inheritance: We are told by Alberuni that "the chief rule of their law of inheritance was that the women did not inherit, except the daughter. She got the fourth

part of the share of a son, according to a passage in the book Manu. If she ~~was~~ was not married, the money was spent on her till the time of her marriage, and her dowry was bought by means of her share. Afterwards she had no more income from the house of her father. If a widow did not burn herself, but preferred to remain alive, the heir of her deceased husband had to provide her with nourishment and clothing as long as she lived. The son and grandson, had a nearer claim to the inheritance ^{than} ~~than~~ the ascendants, i.e., the father and grandfather. The collateral relations, as, e.g., the brothers, had less claim, and inherited only in case there was no body who had a better claim. The son of a daughter had more claim than the son of a sister, and that the son of a brother had more claim than either of them. If there were several claimants of the same degree of relationship, as, e.g., sons or brothers, they all got equal shares. If the deceased left no heir, the inheritance fell to the treasury of the king, except in the case that the deceased person was a Brāhman^a. In that case the king had no right to meddle with the inheritance, but it was exclusively spent on alms giving.¹³⁴

Military Organisation: There was hardly a monarch of this dynasty who had not to undertake extensive military operations either to quell ^{internal} ~~internal~~ rebellions or to carry out ambitious foreign expeditions. The military machine of the empire must, therefore, have been very strong and efficient. We are told by the Arab traveller Sulaiman that the king of Jurz (Gurjara) maintained numerous forces and no other Indian prince had so fine a cavalry.¹³⁵ Al Masūdi informs us that the Gurjara-Iratihāras used to maintain large army garrisons in the south and north, east and west in order to deal promptly with the prospective attacks on all the fronts.¹³⁶ It seems that any corps could be summoned to any direction in times of difficulty.¹³⁷

The army of the Gurjara-Iratihāras appears to have consisted of elephants, horses and infantry. Perhaps chariots were dropped off, for Bāṇa while describing the organisation of Harṣa's army in the first-half of the 7th century A.D., does not refer to them. The elephant was from ancient times

135. See ante, pp. 75-76.^{81.}

136. Ibid, p. 94.

137. Ibid.

the most formidable arm of the Indian forces. ^{Ym} The Khurādība informs us that 'the kings of Hind took great delight in maintaining elephants, and paid largely for them in gold'. ¹³⁸ Foreigners feared the Indian armies because of the elephants' corps. And the greater the number of elephants, the greater was the power of the army. The use of the elephant developed the courage, the strength and the skill of the fighters with elephants. The Indian soldiers and ~~h~~ horsemen often grappled with elephants effectively. When put to flight the elephant force was usually a nuisance to its own employers. The elephants were thus both a source of strength as well as of weakness to the Indian armies as history has often recorded.

Next to the elephant corps was the cavalry. We are told by Al Masūdī that the king of ^{Gurj} ~~Jur~~ maintained a powerful army with the best cavalry in India and plenty of camels. ¹³⁹ We may, therefore, conclude that the Gurjara-Pratihāras were ~~famous~~ famous for their cavalry and camels were also included in their army. Perhaps India supplied horses required for their army but it may be ^{assumed} ~~assumed~~ that they were also imported from such places as Persia, Arabia ^{and} ~~&~~ ^{140.} Afghanistan.

138. Elliot Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 13.

139. Ibid, p.25; see also the account of Sulaiman: Ibid, p.4
(Contd. on the following page .

The infantry came last. The soldiers were armed with bucklers and swords. Probably the archer fighting on foot was ~~not~~ ^{not} a prominent feature of the army, though the riders on elephants used the bow and the arrow.

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The Rājataranginī refers to ambulance corps in the Kashmir army. We may assume that the Gurjara-Pratihāras also maintained such corps to facilitate immediate treatment of the wounded soldiers. The same observation may be true about the Sappers and Miners corps. Probably the army was

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140. In the inner camp of Harṣa, Bāṇa refers to the royal horses as Kāmbojaja, Vanāyaja, Sindhuja, Āratṭaja, Bhāradvāja and Pārsik. See Harṣa-carita, p. 100. It may be interesting to note that most of the places mentioned in the Nītivākyāmrta, a contemporary work on politics, as famous for their breed of ~~horse~~ ^{horse} are trans-Indian and that the first variety mentioned in that work is that of the Tājika, i.e., the Arabian horse. At the time of Marco Polo the kingdom of Thana used to import its army ~~horses~~ horses from Arabia; the traffic in horses was so ^{great} ~~great~~ in the 13th and 14th centuries that no ship came to India without horses

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accompanied by numerous camp followers such as cooks, washermen, sweepers, waterman, cartman, etc., It seems that slaves were employed for menial duties. Al Utbī informs us that the victory, which the Hindus had almost secured against Mahmud of ²Gami in the battle of Ohind was lost by them owing to the revolt of the slaves in the household, who attacked them in the rear while the battle was at the critical stage.¹⁴² Most probably women were not engaged for menial duties.

The Army, as usual, appears to have included a large number of Kshatriyas. Perhaps other castes were not excluded. A part of the army consisted of the hereditary forces and the forces of the feudatories. The Muslim writers seem to be referring to the hereditary forces when they mention the troops of the Indian kings, who came out to fight for their king though they received no pay from him.¹⁴³

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in addition to other cargo (Marco Polo, II, p. 391). The Vijayanagara rulers also had to rely on Arabia for their army horses. The same, therefore, was almost certainly the case in our period, as well.

141. VIII, 741

142. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

143. See Ibid, Vol. I, p. 7.

The principle of heredity, which was allowed to operate to some extent in the appointments to civil offices,¹⁴⁴ seems to have governed to a great extent the recruitment of the army as well. It is not unreasonable to ~~assume~~^{assume} that the hereditary force (Maulapala) was the most efficient and trustworthy arm. Perhaps most of the villages had their own militias recruited from their own inhabitants. These militias might have been the principal recruitment fields for the regular armies. The recruits probably possessed a certain amount of military efficiency at the time of their enrolment.

Most of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperors were themselves distinguished soldiers. Under them were a number of generals, who must have been in charge of the different corps.¹⁴⁵ According to inscriptions, Mahāsenādhipati appears to have been the chief military officer over all the arms and in immediate communication with the king. The prefix 'Mahā' indicates that there were subordinate officers like Senāpatis for each arm. We learn from inscriptions¹⁴⁶ that other military officers were Balādhyaksha (~~Commandant~~^{(Superintendent of the} forces), Balādhikṛta (~~148~~¹⁴⁸ Commandant), and Gūlmika (¹⁴⁸ perhaps the head of thirty foot-men). We

144. See ante, p. 158.

145. See ante, p. ¹⁴⁹152.

146. Ibid, p. ¹⁵²154.

(contd. on the following page)

~~147. Ibid.~~

may safely assume that these officers were dressed in uniforms appropriate to their status in the army. The armies were generally distinguished from one another by special badges and banners. Perhaps there were certain complementary departments such as transport, commissariat and espionage. The army seems to have had a number of spies called ¹⁴⁹ 'Dātāpreṣanika'.¹⁵⁰ are told by the Smṛti writers that they were the 'eyes and the ears' of the king. The king was expected 'to look through their eyes otherwise there were chances of his being stumbled down'. The Smṛti writers further compare them to the Sun in energy and to the wind in movements. These spies must have been persons skilled in the interpretation of internal sentiments by conjecture and external gestures, accurate of memory, polite and soft in speech, agile in movements, capable of bearing up with all sorts of privations and difficulties, ready witted, and expert in everything. They were engaged not simply to gain information or to watch the movements of the enemy, but also for the purposes of sowing dissension, for capturing the enemy's fort, country or camp with the aid of weapons, poison or fire, for the

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147. Ibid.

148. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256

149. See ante, p. ¹⁵² 134.

150. Kāmandaka, XII, 27.

purposes of most brutal assassinations of kings, chiefs of the army, leading citizens, such as the councillors, as well as for all purposes of devastation and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. Perhaps spies residing in enemy's country as traders sold poisoned liquors to soldiers. Under the garb of servants they might sell poisoned grass and water and thus kill the enemy's cattle, horses and elephants. Prostitute spies might entice away young princes, chiefs of corporations or of the army, who perhaps paid the wages of their sin in the shape of ignominious death.

Perhaps lekha (scribe), who was a non-military officer, was attached to this department. It is not unreasonable to suppose that his function was to keep the accounts relating to the military department. Most probably he was in possession of facts ^{and} ~~and~~ figures as to the number of soldiers in different ranks of the army, the emoluments drawn by each, the number of discharged soldiers and the places where these latter ^{were} ~~was~~ engaged. The government ¹⁵¹ appears to have paid the army regularly, for Madhātithi lays down that the payment of salaries to civil servants and the army must be regular. Perhaps the government gave pensions

to the dependents of the soldiers killed in war.

The state built forts for the defence of the country.

We may safely ~~assume~~^{assume} that the fortifications were of a varied character. Water, ^{**}mountain, desert and forests ~~must~~ have served as defences. Of these water and mountain fortifications served best as defences for centres thick with population, whilst the other kinds, the desert and forest fortifications were intended to ward off dangers arising from unknown wilds and woods. The forts were placed in charge of officers called Kottapāla.¹⁵³

Actual Warfare: Let us now consider the actual warfare.

The king seems to have led the host in person to the battlefield assisted by the Commander-in-Chief (Mahāsenādhipati). In fact, in ancient times it was considered the chief duty of a king. We may assume that the kings were usually in the van as they were expected to set an example for their soldiers. It is difficult to understand the manner of fighting in vogue in those days, when the gun had no existence. Perhaps the bowmen began the fight. The king probably rode on an elephant and fought with his bow. The most terrible

152. See ante, p. 158.

153. See ante, p. 158.

** Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 108

fighting appears to have been with the elephant force and the inscriptions of our period almost always extol the king's valour in attacking black masses of elephants and breaking their temples with the blows of his swords. The death of the king or the Commander on the battlefield almost always led to the defeat and the rout of his army. Historians of Mahmud of Ghazni refer to swords, spears, bows, arrows and maces as the weapons used by the opposing ¹⁵⁴ Hindu forces. We may, therefore, conclude that these must have been the weapons mainly used by the armies of our period.

Ethics of War: We are told by Medhātithi that 'if a war is declared, there should be no weakening. There should be no hesitation as to whether a weak enemy should be attacked or not. The king should not try to be consistent. He should uproot the weeds'. ¹⁵⁵ He further tells us that mere submission of the vanquished ^{is} immaterial. The enemy is to surrender ¹⁵⁶ completely. The Rajakula or royal family of the fallen prince does not appear to have been extinguished, for we are told by the Arab traveller Sulhīman that 'when a king

xxx 154 - Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 30.

155 - Medhātithi on ^{Manu} ~~Manu~~, VII, 88; Ibid, VII, 11.

156 - Ibid, VII, 92.

subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man
 belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries
 on the government in the name of the conqueror. ¹⁵⁷ According
 to Medhātithi, the victor should ^{summon} ~~open~~ assemblies of the
 cities and the country-side and they must decide the ^{names} ~~names~~
 which ¹⁵⁸ in ~~which~~ they are to be ruled. We may thus conclude that
 humanity triumphed over the desire of revenge. The non-
 warring elements do not appear to have been always
 interfered with. Medhātithi tells us that "when a king
 attacks his enemy, he really attacks the government-the
 political machinery. He has ~~no~~ business to destroy the
 inhabitants of the enemy's realm, if it is possible to
 spare them." ¹⁵⁹

Perhaps the use of invisible arms and poisonous
 or fire emitting weapons was ^{also} ~~also~~ forbidden. The early Smṛti
¹⁶⁰ writers lay down that the timid, the intoxicated, the
 insane, the negligent, the unprepared, women, ^{children,} ~~children,~~ the
 aged and the Brāhmaṇas were not to be attacked. We may
 presume that the Gurjara-Pratihāras followed these principles.

157 - Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 7.

158. - Medhātithi on Manu, VII, 201, 202.

159. Ibid, VII, 32; see, however, Dr. A.S. Altekar: The
 Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their times, pp. 258-259.

160 See Baudhāyana: 1, 10, 18

Police Administration : The State appears to have maintained a strong police force to afford security to the civil population. Sulaiman informs us that there was no country in India more safe from robbers than Jurz.¹⁶¹ The police officials were obviously the instruments for bringing to book law-breakers. We learn from inscriptions that the police officers were called *Cauroddharanika* and *Sanjapāsika*.¹⁶² Crimes, that could not be locally detected¹⁶³ were investigated by these officers. It is very likely that they worked under the direction of the *Rāṣṭrapatis* and *Viṣayapāṭis*, who could perhaps afford military assistance to them in case it was necessary for the apprehension of desperate robbers or dacoits. Most probably much of the police control was by means of spies (*dūtapraṣaṇika*), who sometimes acted as agents provocateurs.

The policing ar/angements of villages appear to have been under the supervision of the headman. Perhaps the village watchman was in immediate charge of the work, and it was his duty to detect all crimes. We may presume that if a theft or robbery was committed within his jurisdiction, he had to find out the culprit. If the latter

161. Elliot; Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 4.

162. See ante, p. ¹⁵¹143.

163. Ibid.

remained untraceable, the watchman had perhaps to compensate
 164 for the loss. It would not be wide of the mark to imagine
 that his liability was limited by his means and it was
 based on a shrewd suspicion that he himself might be the
 thief or in league with him. We may further presume that
 the king had ultimately to make good the loss out of his
 treasury, if full compensation for the stolen goods could
 165 not be exacted from the watchman.

164. The rules in the Arthasāstra are more detailed:

Kautilya says, "when any part of merchandise has been
 lost or stolen, the headman of the village shall make
 up the loss. whatever merchandise is lost or stolen
 in the intervening places between two villages, shall
 be made good by the superintendent of the pasture. If
 there is no pasture-land, then the officer called
 Corarejjuka would be responsible. Failing him, the
 boundary and neighbouring villages shall make up the
 loss, and if the property cannot be ultimately traced,
 the king shall ultimately make good the loss out of his
 own treasury. See Arthasāstra, IV, 13

165. Viṣṇu says that if the king is unable to recover stolen
 goods, he must pay their value out of his treasury.

Viṣṇu, III, 67.

Public Works Department: Probably the government had also set up a department like the modern Public Works Department to regulate the administration of the means of communication, irrigation and certain other things of similar nature which were mostly of daily use. The means of communication were kept in good order and protected against brigands and other high-waymen for trade and commerce. The Gurjara-Pratihāras had very often to wage war, hence special attention must have been paid to them. This department looked after irrigation. The government appears to have made proper arrangements for irrigation. The Hartabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II refers to a leather bucket (Kosa) which was used for irrigating fields. Perhaps sluices were constructed and the officers were deputed to look after them so that everybody might utilise them in a fair way. It may be concluded that the peasants were treated equally. From records we learn that they could have water for irrigation from tanks (Tarāgas), rivers (Saritās) and wells (Kūpas).

Public Health Department: Perhaps the government had also instituted a department like the modern Public Health Department to look after the public health and hygiene. The Dharma-Sūtras and the Dharma-Śāstras agree in general to the various regulations for maintaining public health in towns. We may assume that healthy regulations were

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laid down for the sale of food commodities. The committing of nuisance in public roads and in sacred spots, such as rivers, temples, shady places, before fire and women, was punishable. The curative arrangements were perhaps made both for men and animals. We may well conclude that various measures were adopted to prevent diseases. The Shisaka was probably the head of the Public Health Department.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL CONDITION.

Composition of Society : Society appears to have been composed of the usual four Varnas, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra. The Brāhmaṇas had gained complete ascendancy in the Hindu Society. It is borne out by the accounts of the Muslim travellers. Al Masūdi¹ and Alberuni² inform us that the Brāhmaṇas were honoured by the Indians as forming the most noble and illustrious caste. The Brāhmaṇas seem to have formed one caste throughout India without any sub-divisions based on provincial or other minor differences. Thus we do not find Brāhmaṇa donees in inscriptions described as Kanojiā, Gauda or Dravida. The records distinguish them by their Gotras and Pravaras. Among the former they mention: Kāśyapa, Kātyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Vatsa, Gobhila, Bandhula, Vasiṣṭha, Śarkarākṣa, Pārāṇasa, Gautama, Sāṇḍilya, Kauṣika, Sāṁkr̥tya, Kṛṣṇātreya, Upamanyu, Kaundinya, Kapisthala, Chārgaya, Parāśara, Jivantyāyana, Garga, Gārgya, Sāvarna, Dhaumya, Sausravasa, Gālava, Rūtsa, Śarkara, Dakṣa, Jātukarna, Candrātreya, Gaṇḍya, Pippalāda, Harīta, Maunya,³ Darbha, Agastī, Maudgalya, Kaṇva, Ātreya, Agastī, etc.; and

1. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 19

2. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 100-101.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 99; Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 118, 212-13;
(contd. on the following page)

the latter are referred to as follows: Viśvāmitra, Ambarīṣa, Bhārgava, Jāmadāg⁹na, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kauṣika, Dhaumya, Gautama, Bandhula, Aghamarṣaṇa, Gobhila, Āngirasa, Cyāvana, Aurva, Apravāna, Mandgalya, Kāśyapa, Bharmyāsva, Āvatsara, ⁴Maidhruva, Kāṅkāyana, Audalya, Aitatha, Avitatha, Devarāta, etc.

Besides these Gotras and Iravaras, the Brāhmaṇas seem to have characteristic names according to their occupations and modes of life. Alberuni informs us that "the Brahman is in general called by this name as long as he does his work staying at home. When he is busy with the service of one fire, he is called ishtin; if he serves three fires, he is called agnihotrin; if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called dīkṣita⁵". In addition, the contemporary records refer to such Brahmanic surnames as Miśra⁶, Dvivedin⁷ or Dvivedī⁸, Tripāthi⁹ or Tripāthī⁸, Sarma⁹, etc.

(contd. from the previous page).

Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 101, 132, 133; Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 18-19; Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp.¹²222; Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 154; Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 202-09.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 101; Ibid., p. 112; Ibid., pp. 430-133; Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 90-100; Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 112, 13, 17, 19, 222, 224; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 103, etc. (contd. on the following page)

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Avasthā, Caturvedin or Caturvaidya, and the title Pandita.

We learn from Alberuni that "the life of the Brahman, after seven years of it have passed, is divided into four parts. The first part begins with ^{the} ~~the~~ eighth year, when the Brahmins come to him to instruct him, to teach him his duties, and to enjoin him to adhere to them and to embrace them as long as he lives. Then they bind a girdle round his waist and invest him with a pair of Yajñopavītas, i.e., one strong cord consisting of nine single cords which are twisted together, and with a third Yajñopavīta, a single one made from cloth. This girdle runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. Further he is presented

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5. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 102.
6. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 207.
7. Ibid, p. 205.
8. Ibid, p. 208.
9. Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 123.
10. Ibid, p. 226.
11. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 204.
12. Ibid, Vol. XIX, p. 54.

with a stick which he has to wear, and with a seal-ring of certain grass, called darbha, which he wears on the ring-^{finger}~~finger~~ of the right hand. This seal-ring is called pavitra. The object of his wearing the ring on the ring-finger of his right hand is this, that it should be a good omen and blessing for all those who receive gifts from that hand. The obligation of wearing the ring is not quite so stringent as that of wearing Yajñopavīta, for from the latter he is not to separate himself under any circumstances whatever. If he takes it off while eating or fulfilling some want of nature, he thereby commits a sin which cannot be wiped off save by some work of expiation, fasting, or almsgiving.

"This first period of the Brahman's life extends till the twenty-fifth year of his age, or, according to the Viṣṇu-sūtra, till his forty-eighth year. His duty is to practise abstinence, to make the earth his bed, to begin with the learning of the Veda and of its explanation, of the science of theology and law, all this being taught to him by a master whom he serves day and night. He washes himself thrice a day, and performs a sacrifice to the fire both at the beginning and end of the day. After the sacrifice he worships his master. He fasts a day and he breaks fast a day, but he is never allowed to eat meat.

He dwells in the house of the master, which he only leaves in order to ask for a gift and to beg in not more than five houses once a day, either at noon or in the evening. Whatever alms he receives he places before his master to choose from it what he likes. Then the master allows him to take the remainder. Thus the pupil nourishes himself from the remains of the dishes of his master. Further, he fetches the wood for the fire, wood of two kinds of trees, palāśa (*Butea frondosa*) and darbha, in order to perform γ the sacrifice; for the Hindus highly venerate the fire, and offer flowers to it. It is the same case with all other nations. They always thought that the sacrifice was accepted by the deity if the fire came down upon it, ^{and no other worship has been able to draw them away from it,} neither the worship of idols nor that of stars, cows, asses, or images. Therefore Bashshar Ibn Burd Burd says: "Since there is fire, it is worshipped".

"The second period of their life extends from the twenty-fifth year till the fiftieth, or, according to the Visnu-kurāṇa, till the seventieth. The master allows him to marry. He marries, establishes a household, and intends to have descendants, but he cohabits with his wife only once in a month after she has become clean of the menstruation. He is not allowed to marry a woman above

twelve years of age. He gains his sustenance either by the fee he obtains for teaching Brahmans and Kshatriyas, not as a payment, but as a present, or by presents which he receives from ~~some~~^{some} one because he performs for him the sacrifices to the fire, or by asking a gift from the king and nobles, there being no importunate pressing on his part, and no unwillingness on the part of the giver ----.

"The third period of the life of the Brahman extends from the fiftieth year to the seventy-fifth, or, according to Vishnu-Purāṇa, till the ninetieth. He practices abstinence, leaves his household, and hands it as well as his wife over to his children, if the latter does not prefer to accompany him into the life in the wilderness. He dwells outside civilization, and leads the same life again which he led in the first period. He does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree, simply sufficient to cover his loins. He sleeps on the earth without any bed, and only nourishes himself by fruit, vegetables, and roots. He lets the hair grow long, and does not anoint himself with oil.

"The fourth period extends till the end of life. He wears a red garment and holds a stick in his hand. He is always given to meditation; he strips the mind of friendship

and enmity, and roots out desire, and lust, and wrath. He does not converse with anybody at all. When walking to a place of particular merit, in order to gain a heavenly reward, he does not stop on the road in a village longer than a day, nor in a city longer than five days. If any one gives him something, he does not leave a remainder of it for the following day. He has no other business but that of caring for the path which leads to salvation, and for reaching moksha, whence there is no return to this world".¹³

Alberuni further informs us that "the universal duties of the Brahman throughout his whole life are works of piety, giving alms and receiving them. For that which the Brahmans give reverts to the pitras (in reality a benefit to the Fathers). He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it¹⁴ at or his death".

Perhaps the Brāhman^as had the liberty to take to the professions of the lower castes, besides those that were theoretically permitted to them. But there were certain moral restrictions, for Alberuni says that "every man who takes to

13. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 130-33.

14. Ibid, p. 133.

15. Ibid, p. 137.

some occupation which is not allowed to his caste, as e.g., a Brahman to trade, a Sūdra to agriculture, commits a sin or crime, which they consider only a little less than the crimes of theft".

The Brāhmanas¹⁶ to have filled various offices of the state. They occupied high as well as low rank. We are told in the Vaillabhatṭa-svāmin (Gwalior) inscription that a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa named Alla was appointed keeper of the Gwalior fort by emperor Shōja. Some of our records refer to Iurohita, who was a Brāhmaṇa and assisted the king in the performance of rites and received gifts from him. But the Brāhmanas appear to have kept the van in the profession of learning. We are told by Abū Zaid that "among the Indians there ^{are} ~~are~~ men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brāhmanas. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are specially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz."

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 157

17. See ante, p. ^{149.} ~~142.~~

18. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 10.

We may safely conclude that the Brāhmanas followed the most varied professions of intellect and that the Brāhmanas of Kānyakubja or rather of Northern India were still ahead of the Brāhmanas of India as in the days of Bāna.

Next to the Brāhmanas were the Kṣatriyas. They seem to have formed one caste, for we are told by the merchant Sulaiman that "in all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family."¹⁹ Perhaps the Kṣatriyas did ^{not} refer to their Gotras during the period under consideration. The inscriptions of the Pratihāras nowhere refer to ^{their} Gotra. Probably the kula itself began to be called Gotra.²⁰ It was perhaps due to the fact that the Vedic rituals and sacrifices were now not in vogue with the Kṣatriyas and the worship of the Purāṇic deities became supreme. The former required the recital of Gotra and Pravara, while the latter did not. Though their usual occupation was that of arms, there was no dearth of the Kṣatriyas devoted to letters.²¹ According to Alberuni, they could read and learn ^{the} Vedas but they were not permitted to teach them. He further informs us that after the twelfth year of life, a Kṣatriya girl th herself with a single cord of the threefold Yajñopavīta and a single other cord of

19. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 6.

20. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 200

21. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 136.

20. cotton. It appears from the Parāśara Smṛiti that like the Brāhmanas they could also take to agriculture.

The Vaiśyas ranked third in the society. It may be presumed that they too yet formed one caste throughout India, for we do not come across the names of their modern sub-divisions, such as Maheśrī, Lād, Puravāra and so on. Perhaps they had lost touch with the Vedic ritual and forgotten their Gotras. Alberuni tells us that the duty of the Vaiśya was "to ~~perform~~ and practise agriculture and to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to remove the needs of the Brahmins." But the Vaiśyas had probably long given up agriculture under the influence of Buddhism. The Buddhists believe that agriculture is sinful because it requires the cutting of the ground and thus involves the killing of various ^{insects} ~~insects~~. The Vaiśyas were generally described as artificers and domestics. They were losing their position among the Trivarnikas, for Alberuni says that the Vaiśyas were not allowed to hear the Vedas, much

(Contd. from the previous page)

22. Ibid.

23. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 136.

24. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 16.

25. ~~Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 125.~~

much less to pronounce and recite them. If such a thing could be proved against one of them, the Brāhmaṇs^a dragged him before the magistrate, and he was punished by ¹⁵ having his tongue cut off.

The lowest among the Varnas were the Śūdras. Alberuni gives the following account of their life: "The Śūdra is like a servant to the Brahman, taking care of his affairs and serving him. If, though being poor in the extreme, he still desires not to be without a Yajñopavīta, he girds himself only with the linen one. Every action which is considered as the privilege of a Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him."²⁶ He further informs us that if a Śūdra was proved to have recited the Veda he was punished like the Vaisiṣyas.²⁷ According to Medhātithi, a Śūdra was entitled to perform pākayajña^ñ and religious sacrifices like prakaraṇa-brādhā^d, aṣṭaka and Vāsuvadeva.²⁸

25. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 125.

26. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 136

27. Ibid.

28. Medhātithi on Manu, III, 67; Ibid., X, 127.

Alberuni refers to one more class of people called Antyaja after the Sūdras. He says that the Antyajās rendered various kinds of services, and were not reckoned among the castes, but only as members of a certain craft or profession. ^{There} ~~There~~ were eight classes of them who freely intermarried with each other, except the fuller (washerman), shoemaker, and weaver, for no others condescended to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds were the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, ^{the} ~~and~~ basket and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and birds, and the weaver. The four Varnas did not live with them in one and the same place. ^{These} ~~The~~ guilds lived near the villages and towns of the four castes but just outside them. ²⁹

He further informs us that 'the people called Hādī, Doma (Domba), Chandāla and Badhatan (Sic) were not reckoned among any class or guild.' They were occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They were considered as one sole class distinguished only by their occupations. "In fact, they were considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descended from a Sūdra father and a Brāhmaṇī mother as

29. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 101; See also Dr.

A.S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.

the children of fornication, therefore they were degraded
 outcast³⁰.

Ibn Khurdādba, who died in 912 A.D., refers to seven classes of the Hindus, namely, "Sāhufīn, among whom were men of high caste, and from among whom kings were chosen; Brahma, who totally abstained from wine and fermented liquors; Katarīya, who drank not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma were not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas took their daughters; Sūdariyā, who were by profession husbandmen; Baisurā, who were artificers and domestics; Sandālīn, who performed menial offices; and Lahūd, who were ^{fond} of amusement³¹ and games of skill." It is quite obvious ~~from~~^{from}

30. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 101-102.

31. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I pp. 16-17; Al Idrīsī, who was born towards the end of the 11th century, also refers to the seven classes of the Indians (Ibid., 1.76), which are practically identical with the seven castes of Ibn Khurdādba, if slight variation in spelling is ignored. There is, however, one variation; the name of the seventh caste according to Al Idrīsī is Zakya, and not Lahūd as Ibn Khurdādba asserts.

these details that Brahma, Katariya, Sūdariyā, Baizurā, Sandālia and Lahūd are the same as Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Sūdras, Vaiśyas, Caudālas and Bazigars and itinerant Jugglers. The first term Sābkufriā is unintelligible. Perhaps it also stands for the Kṣatriyas, for kings were generally chosen from this caste.³² Alberuni, however, differs from him and maintains that there were sixteen castes^e, the four well-known ones, five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables.

The Kāyasthas, who are referred to in inscriptions, perhaps also formed a caste of their own. Probably they were not split up into sub-divisions as we find at present. The contemporary records make reference to the Buddhists and the Jains. We may conclude that the members of these sects had their customs and manners and led a life of their own. The Arab traveller Sulaiman refers to one class of people who wandered in the woods and mountains and rarely communicated with the rest of mankind. Some of them went naked. Others stood naked with the face turned to the Sun, having nothing on but a³³ panter's skin.

These various classes of people appear to have begun to entertain the feelings of distinction in their social intercourse. We learn from Alberuni that "each of the four

32. Dr. A.S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas & Their Times pp. 318-19

33. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 6.

principal varnas or castes, when they ate together, formed a group for themselves, one group not being allowed to comprise two men of different castes.³⁴ He further informs us that if a Brāhman ate in the house of a Śūdra for sundry days, he was expelled from his caste and could never regain it.³⁵

As regards social relations between the Muslims and the Hindus, Alberuni says that no drinking or eating with a Mleccha was permitted in his time.³⁶ He was repeatedly told that when the Hindu slaves in Muslim countries escaped and returned to their country and religion, they were admitted after an expiation; but when he inquired from the Brāhmanas whether this was true, they denied it, maintaining that there was no expiation possible for such individuals.³⁷ It is thus clear that the masses were for reconversion but the orthodoxy had begun to frown on the practice.

Marriage: The caste does not appear to have been so rigid as it is at present. We learn from Ibn Khūrdādbah³⁸ that the Brāhmanas could marry the Kṣatriya girls. Alberuni informs us that every man of a caste might marry a woman

34. Sachau; Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 102.

35. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 163.

36. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

37. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 162-163.

38. See ante, p. 179 207.

of his own caste or one of the castes or caste below
 his.³⁹ Their accounts are borne out by the fact that the
 founder of the Pratihara dynasty, Harisandra, who was a
 Brahmana, had a Kshatriya wife.⁴⁰ The Karpuramanjari of
 Rajasekhara also refers to such anuloma marriages.
 Rajasekhara, who was a Brahmana, had married a Kshatriya
 lady named Avantisundari.⁴¹ But such marriages seem to have
 begun to fall into disrepute. We learn from Alberuni that
 the Brahmanas, though they were allowed to marry in other
 castes, never married any ~~women~~^{women} except those of their own
 caste.⁴² Medhatithi lays down that the Brahmana or Kshatriya
 bridegroom in the tenth stage of his life should not marry
 a Sudra girl even when she is extremely beautiful.⁴³

39. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 155-56.

40. See ante, p. 23. 16.

41. Cāṇhāṇakula maṇḍī ^m ~~Māliā~~ Rāseharakainda gohinī,
 Bhattano kidimvantisundarī s̄a pañjjaedumedicchadi.
 Karpuramanjari (ed. by Pt. D. Prasad and ^{K.P. Basal} K.P.F.), p. 17.

42. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 156.

43. Medhatithi on Manu, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 38, trans. by
 Gangenāth Jha.

The Pratiloma marriages were not allowed, for Alberuni tells us that nobody was allowed to marry a woman of caste superior to ⁴⁴this own. Ibn Khurdādba also refers to such restrictions when he says that "the daughters of the class of Brahma (Brahmana) were not given in marriage to the ⁴⁵sons of the Katarīya (Kṣatriya) class".

We come across certain other restrictions which were to be respected by the members of the Hindu Society. According to Medhātithi, ⁴⁶the Brāhmanas should not establish uterine (the giving and taking of daughters in marriage) relationship with the Vratyas ⁴⁷until they are duly purified. We learn from Alberuni that "it was absolutely forbidden to marry related women both of the direct descending line, viz., a granddaughter, or great-granddaughter, and of the direct ascending line, viz., a mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother. It was also forbidden to marry collateral

44. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 156.

45. See ante p. 179, 207.

46. Medhātithi on Manu, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 283, trans. by Gaṅgānāth Jhā.

47. For the explanation of the word, see Ibid.

relations, viz., a sister, a niece, a maternal and paternal aunt and their daughters, except in case the couple of relations who wanted to marry each other were removed from each other by five consecutive generations. In that case the prohibition was waived, but, notwithstanding, such a marriage was an object of dislike to them.⁴⁸

Early marriages appear to have come in vogue, for Alberuni informs us that the Hindus married at a very young age.⁴⁹ He further says that a Brāhmaṇa was not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age.⁵⁰ The Śaṅkṛis like those of Karāśara and Vyāsa prescribe marriage for girls from eight to ten years of age. Polygamy also seems to have been prevalent, for we are told by Alberuni that a man might marry one to four wives.⁵² The Iratīhāra records show that ^{some} ~~some~~ of the kings had more than one wife. It is reasonable to assume that polygamy was practised by the

48. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 155, see also Medhātithi on Manu, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 232; Ibid., Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 23, 27, trans. by Gaṅgānāth Jhā.

49. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 154.

50. Ibid., p. 131.

51. Vivāhavedaṭṭa varāṅmoven dharmaṇa hīyate.

52. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 155

rich and ruling sections of society and the poor found it beyond their means.

Ties of wedlock were held sacred and indissoluble by them. We learn from Alberuni that husband and wife could only be separated by death, as they had no divorce.⁵³ He further informs us that a widow could not remarry⁵⁴ herself. Levirate (niyoga) was becoming unpopular, for as Medhātithi says, though sanctioned by the Smritis, it was deprecated by the people.⁵⁵

Family System: Joint families appear to have been the order of the day. But family disturbances caused by one reason or the other might have led to separation of the family members. Perhaps the eldest male member exercised control over all the members of the family, irrespective of their sex. The relation of child and parent was one of close affection. The father probably controlled in some measure at least both sons and daughters ^{with} in regard to their marriage.

Status of Women: Daughters seem to have lost their position in family much earlier than our period.⁵⁶ Since the

53. Ibid, p. 154.

54. Ibid, p. 155.

55. Medhātithi on Manu, Vol. II, pt II, p. 441, trans. by Ganganāth Jhā; See also Ibid, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 64.

56. Sakhā ha jāyā kṛpamānā hi duhitā jyotirhi putrah paramavyoman. A.Br. VII, 13.

family could be perpetuated only through male children, girls were at a discount and boys at a premium. The ^{birth} birth of a son was an occasion of great rejoicing, while the coming of a daughter passed virtually unnoticed. Such ideas appear to have developed during these centuries, and they still prevail in society. Higher education was not imparted to women in general. Asahāya, a commentator of the 8th century A.D., says that women were not properly trained and educated.⁵⁷ Perhaps Rājasekhara alludes to the fact that higher education was confined to cultured and well-to-do families when he says that he had met princesses, and poetesses, daughters of prime-ministers, courtiers⁵⁸ and wives of court jesters who were well versed in sciences. We may ~~assume~~ ^{assume} that guardians devoted their attention more to the problem of marriage than to that of education.

Early in the history of our civilization brides naturally received affectionate and respectful treatment in their new houses as they were grown up and educated at the

57. Śāstrādhyayanānadhikāritvāt śāstramātropjīvidhar-
^{dharma}
 māññānabhāvād swātantryam. Asahāya on Nārada Smṛti,
 X, 30.

58. Rājasekhara: Kāvyaśāstra, p. 53.

time of marriage. The Vedic marriage hymn lays down that the bride should immediately take the reins of the household from her ~~own~~ ⁵⁹ elderly relations. Her views were usually to prevail in the household management. ⁶⁰ They on their part used to observe proper decorum and treat their elders with utmost deference and reverence. ⁶¹ They could, however, join ⁶² them at the common table, and take part in conversation.

But their legal status was changed by this time. We may safely assume that wife was no more regarded as the ornament of the house as we find in the early Vedic ⁶³ literature. Most probably marriage came to be regarded as

59. Samrājñī svasuro bhava samrājñī adhi devṛṣu

R.V.X, 85, 46.

60. Yathāsindhurnadināṁ sāmrajyam suṣuve vṛṣā

Evā tvam samrajñyedhi patyurastam parotma ca, A.V.

XIV, 1, 43.

61. Yathavādaḥ anuṣā svasurāllajjanānā viliya mānaiti

K.S. 31, 1.

62. Tasmājjyānāśca kaniyāśca anuṣā ca svasurāśca surām
pītvā vilāl pata āsato. M.S., II, 4, 2.

63. R. V. 1, 66, 3; Ibid, III, 53. 4.

the bride's upanayana, the husband as her preceptor, and the stay at his place as the counterpart of the stay at the teacher's house (gurukula). So, like the teacher, the husband might have exercised some power of physical correction over the wife, if she was found guilty of a mistake or an offence. It is no wonder that under such circumstances unreasonable demands would have been made on wives. The husband might be self-wiled^l, he might be even vicious, the wife had nevertheless, to maintain conjugal relations. The later Dharmaśāstra literature as a whole (200-²⁰⁰⁻1200 A.D.), while liberally permitting the husband to remarry during the life-time of the first wife, refuses the remedy of divorce⁶⁴ to the wife even when completely forsaken by the husband. Perhaps the theory of joint ownership helped her in securing a number of minor rights and privileges. It is just possible that it invested her with an absolute right of maintenance against the husband. If he married a second wife during the life-time of the first, the latter had to be provided for. It may safely be assumed that the liability of the husband to maintain her did not ^{come} ~~come~~ to an end even when she was assaulted. Early jurists no doubt held it improper for a

^{See also}
 64. Sachan; See also Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 154.

wife to vindicate her claims against the husband in a court of law, but later jurists like Viṣṇūśvara differed from this view and maintained that if a husband abandons a virtuous wife, or wilfully misappropriates her property and refuses to restore it she can move a court of law to get her grievances redressed.⁶⁵

Her religious rights also appear to have been circumscribed. ^{Earlier to our period the} ~~Previously the~~ Smṛti writers like Manu laid down that a pious Brāhmaṇa was not to attend a ⁶⁶ sacrifice performed by women. The recitation of the Vedic Mantras was prohibited to her, but she seems to have ⁶⁷ continued to perform the evening sacrifice.

It is not unreasonable to ^{assume} ~~assume~~ that her condition,

65. Yattu guroḥ śiṣye pituḥ putre dāmpatyor svāmi bhṛtyayor/
Virodhe tu mithasteṣāṃ vyavahāro na sidhyati tadapi
atpanta vyavahāranīśedha param na bhavati/Yadi
durbhikṣhā divyati rekeṇa strīdhanam vyayī kṛtya
vidyanāndhanopi yācyamāno na dadāti tadā dāmpatyoriṣyata
eva vyavahārah// Mit. on Yaj. II, 32.

66. M.S., IV, ~~204~~ 205.

67. Sāyamatvannasya siddhasya patnayamant⁶⁷ḥ balini haret/
Ibid., III, 121.

was more deplorable as a widow. We are told by Alberuni⁶⁸ that a widow was ill-treated as long as she lived. It is very likely that she was regarded as inauspicious and could not be present even at the marriage of her own children. She had to lead a dreary life of enforced celibacy, for she could not remarry herself.⁶⁹ Society does not appear to have shown much sympathy to her. Her right of inheritance had ceased to be recognised even long before⁷⁰ our period. But her right to maintenance was acknowledged, for Alberuni informs us that the heir of her deceased husband had to provide her with nourishment and clothing as long as⁷¹ she lived. We may safely conclude that many widows waded through their unwanted life, supported by such solace as religion could afford them. Some might have summoned courage to escape from life through the frightful door of the Sati custom. It is possible that a few of them who found

68. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 155

69. See ante, p. ²¹³164.

70. Vedic texts (S.Br. IV, 4, 2, 15) which declare women to be incapable of inheriting any property, are particularly aimed against the widow. The Sati writers like Manu (X, 185, 187) and Apastamba (II, 14, 2-4) do not mention a widow in the list of legitimate heirs.

71. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 164.

it impossible to follow either course, lapsed into a life of ignominy and immorality.

Satī: Some of the Sāṁti writers of our period⁷² refer to the Satī custom. They do not, however, hold it as an ideal for widows; they allow it only as a second⁷³ alternative and regard ascetic life as preferable to it. Śāṇa, who was the greatest literary ornament of the court of Harpa of Kanauj, vehemently criticizes the practice. "To die after one's beloved," says he, "is most fruitless. It is a custom followed by the foolish. It is a mistake committed under infatuation. It is a reckless course followed only on account of haste. It is a mistake of stupendous magnitude. It does no good whatsoever to the dead person. It does not help him in ascending to heaven; it does not prevent him from sinking into hell. It does not at all ensure union after death; the person who has died goes to the place determined by his own karma, the person who accompanies him on the funeral pyre goes to the hell reserved for those who are guilty of the sin of suicide. On the other hand, by surviving the deceased, one can do much good both to oneself and to the departed by offering prescribed oblations for his happiness in the

72. See Parāśara Smṛti, IV, 26-28.

73. Ibid.

other world. By dying with him one can do good to
 neither.⁷⁴ Medhātithi subscribes to ^{these} ~~these~~ ⁷⁵ thoughts. The
 tantra writers were also averse to this practice. They
 held that ^a woman was the embodiment of the Supreme Goddess
 and boldly affirmed that if a person burnt her with her
 husband, he would be condemned to eternal hell.⁷⁶ Their
 criticism, however, could not produce any effect. The
 custom continued to gain ground. We are told by Alberuni
 that the wives of the dead kings were burnt with them.
 An exception was made only for women of advanced years and
 for those who had children.⁷⁷ Perhaps the custom was ^{still} ~~still~~

74. Yadetadanumarāṇaṁ nāṁ tadati niṣfalaṁ/avidvajjane
 carita eva mārgaḥ/ moha vilasita metadrarabhasā carita
 midam yaduparate pitari bhartari bhrātari vā prāṇaḥ
 parityajyante svayaṁ coma jahati na parityajyāḥ/
 uparatasya tu na ^K kamapi guṇamāvahati/na tīvattasāyaṁ
 śubha loka pārjana hetuḥ, na nirayapāt pratikāraḥ na
 paraśparaśaṁāgananimittam/anyāmeva svakarmaśalapakṣo-
 pacitāṁsau avaśo niyate bhūmim/asāvapi ātma ghātinaḥ
 kevala menasā sanyujyate/jīvatastu jalāñjali dānādina
 banūpekaro tyuparatasyātmanaśca mṛtastu nobhayasyāpi//

Bāṇa: Kadambarī, Kūrvārdha, p. 308.

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confined to the royal families and it had not yet spread⁷⁸ to the masses, as was the case in the later centuries.

Purdā: Another system which seems to have prevailed in the Hindu society was Purdā. It is indeed strange that Abū Zaid records that "most of the princes of India when they⁷⁹ ~~held~~ ^{hold} a court allow their wives to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners." This might have been true of the princes of Malabar and of the South, for there is and was no Purdā with them.⁸⁰ It cannot be said to be true of the courts of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, for Purdā prevailed in Northern India from of old. Perhaps he was ~~not~~ misinformed. However, we must bear in mind that there does not appear to have been any absolute bar to women appearing in public.

Dress: The clothing of both of men and women consisted as of old of one piece of cloth bound about the loins, and taken up above one shoulder in the case of men and above

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75. Medhātithi on Manu, V. 156, pūrvāt strīṇāmapi
pratiṣiddha ātmatyāgaḥ/adhikāreḥ syenatulyatā/
satyāmapi pravṛtto na dharmattvam//.

76. Bhartrā Saha kuleśāni na dahetkulakāminīm/
^{tva}
o ~~ta~~ svarūpā ramaṇī jagatyācchannavigrahā/
mohād bhartuḥ citārōhād bhavennirayagāminī/

Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, X, 79-80

77. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 155; See also

Sulaiman's account, Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 6
(quoted on the following page)

both in that of women. The *uttariya* or the second or upper piece of cloth seems to have been used by both men⁸¹ and women. Rājasekhara gives an interesting description of the dress of the women of Kānyakubja in the following words: "With ear-rings dancing on the cheeks and with the long necklace moving, down to the navel, the dress of the women of Kanauj deserves to be honoured, their upper clothing going completely round the waist down to the⁸² anklet." He further informs us that the ladies of his⁸³ time used bodice.

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78. See Marco Polo, II, p. 341; Ibn Batuta p.191; Bernier, p. 30; Tavernier, p. 414.
79. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 11.
80. See Dr. A. S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp. 343-344.
81. Esa sajjohmi/bho vaassa, *uttariya gaṇṭhidāissam*.
Rājasekhara: Karpūramañjarī, p. 106 (e.d. Ft. Durgababad and K. P. Parab
~~Presad and K. P. P.~~)
82. *padanka valganatarangita gaṇḍa lekhamānābhilambi*
daradolita tārāhāram/
asronigulfa pari maṇḍalitottariyam voṣam namasyate-
Mahodaya sundarīnām/Rājasekhara: Kāvyaśāstram, p.8
^{ed.}
~~89a~~ (e.d. ~~Manmohan Ghosh~~ C.D. Dalal and R.A. K. Shastri)

(Contd on the following page)

we are told by Alberuni that "the lappets ⁸⁴ of the kurtakas (short shirts from the shoulders to the middle of the body with sleeves, a female dress) had slashes both on the right and left sides. We further learn from him that 'people used turbans for trousers.' "Those who wanted little dress were content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bound over their loins with two cords; but those who liked much dress, wore trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-rugs. These trousers had no (visible) openings, and they were so huge that the feet were not visible. The string by which the trousers were fastened was at the back. Their *şidār* (a piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck) was similar to the trousers, ⁸⁵ being also fastened at the back by buttons."

Perhaps white was the colour esteemed by men and women liked different colours and different designs of patches of ornamentation such as pairs of swan. ⁸⁶ Plain borderless white cloth was then, as now, not liked by women, for it

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83. *Coṭṭa codāṭī-śāstram*. Rājasekhara: Karpūramāñjarī, p. 5, (ed. Mammohana Ghosh).

84. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 180-181.

85. Ibid., p. 180.

86. Cf. Rājasekhara: Karpūramāñjarī, p. 48 (ed. Pt. Durga Prasad (read on the following page))

appears that this sort of cloth was distinctive of widows.⁸⁷
 The Buddhist monks and nuns seem to have put on simple
 cloth coloured red, though in this colour there might have
 been different shades in the different schools, for we are
 told by Yuan Chwang that the size and colour of the plaits⁸⁸
 varied in different schools. Probably the Jaina recluses
 affected cloth coloured yellow and the Hindu recluses or
 Sanyāsīs used cloth coloured soiled red. These three
 religions appear to have chosen these colours to distinguish
 themselves from one another.

People were fond of ornaments. We learn from
 Alberuni that the men wore articles of female dress; they
 used cosmetics, wore ear-rings, arm-rings, golden seal-rings⁸⁹
 on the right finger as well as on the toes of the foot.

(Contd. from the previous page)

and K.P. Parashar

(revised and K.P.P.)

87. paridhattān dhavale vāsasī vasumatī.

Bāṇa: Harṣacarita, p. 236.

88. Hattors, I, p. 150.

89. Sachau : Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 181; cf.

Abū Zaid's account, Elliot: Hist. of India,

Vol. I, p. 11

The list of ornaments may be further supplemented by quoting a few of them from the works of Rājasekhara, who refers to girts, ⁹⁰girdle, ⁹¹anklets, ⁹²kundala, ⁹³necklace, and ⁹⁴bracelets.

women decorated their feet ⁹⁵and bodies. ⁹⁶A stanza in the Karpūramanjari of Rājasekhara introduces us to the use of toilet. Its substance is as follows: "Toilet does

90. ----- Kanaakadi sutae vialoha kiṅkinimālā-----
P. Surya Prasad and K. P. Panab
 Rājasekhara: Karpūramanjari, p. 20 (ed. Pt. D. F. & K. P. S.)
91. ahaṁ upatuha evvai bhaṇantassa neuraṣsa viapālaṇṇam--
 Ibid, p. 25.
92. Ubha oṣa vi saṇṇosun nivesiam raṇa kuṇḍala juṣa/
 ubhayorapi sraṇṇayorni vesitam ratna kuṇḍalayugam
 tasyah// Ibid, p. 50.
93. Dolandolana līlā saranta sari āchalana se hāro/
 vittharai vva kusumāuhanaravai noi kitti vallīo/35/-
 Ibid, p. 58.
 Ekkāvalī gaṇṭhikameṇa guttha ----- Ibid, p. 75.
 Kuṇḍamālā candanamālā kuvalamālā kaṇṇanamālā
 baḍalamālā maṅgalamālā māṇikkamāletī satta mālettinām
 dheṇo navanī sidakunta hattha pāikka sahasṣeṇa sṇam
 tambūla karāṅka vāhinīo pacchimāe diṣāo nīve siḍāo//
 Ibid, p. 96

(contd. on the following page -

not effect any improvement to a lady's full round breasts, her wide eyes, lovely face and her body; or, in other words it puts things in a disadvantage; for example, clothes will cover the charming breasts, collyrium will put a black mark around the eyes, the natural grace of the face will be covered by the powder and the beautiful formation of the body will be obscured by garments, still these will please all. Now what is the reason of this? The remarkable reason of this is that anything that is beautiful by nature (rūḥiō) cannot be spoilt.⁹⁷

The ladies stained their teeth red or black. People appear

(Contd. from the previous page)

94. Dinnā vala āva lio kara kamala paṇṭhanāla jvalammi.

Ibid., p. 49.

~~Rajasekhara: Karpuramanjari, p. 49 (ed. It. D.K. & K.L.R.)~~

95. Mañjittḥāratasuttacchavikireṇacāo cakkavāṇkamitto
jādo atthācalatthī avaha dīṇamanī pakkaṇā raṅgeriṇo//

Ibid., p. 70.

96. Deva, maṇḍidā tikkidā bhūsidā tosidā o/*Ibid.*, p. 17.

97. Thorāṇaṁ thaṇa āṇakāṇa kali ālaṅgaṇa acchinā vā

Bhūcandassa kanti sari āsottassa gattasa-a/

Ko nevaṇṇa kalāo kīradi guṇo jantani-pisavvaṇ piṇṇa

Suttavvaṇa suṇatatta kārāṇamimā rūḥiō kā khaṇḍanā//

Ibid., p. 27, (ed. Manmohan Ghosh)

to have bored their ears, since it is a practice prescribed by the Hindu Śāstras. We are told by Alberuni that they did ^{not} cut any of the hair of the body. Originally they went naked in consequence of the heat, and by not cutting the hair of the head they intended to prevent sunstroke. They divided the moustache into ^{single} ~~single~~ plaits in order to preserve it. The military officers allowed beards to grow and even wore whiskers. Bāṇa's description of the Commander-in-Chief of Thāneśvara is worth quoting: "With tangled hair on the head, his cheeks covered with white bunches of whiskers and with his long white beard falling on his breast, as if fanning his master seated in the next heart, though dead, with a ⁹⁸ ~~camara~~." There is no reference even to the tonsure of widows. In the Pehon Prasasti of Mahendrapāla I, the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse ¹⁰⁰ ~~stresses~~ stresses. People appear to have used shoes, for Alberuni informs us that "they kept the ^{shoes} ~~shoes~~ tight till they began to put ^{on} ~~on~~ them." They were turned down ^{from} ~~from~~ the calf

98. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 179-180.

99. Bāṇa: Harṣacarita, pp. 257-258.

100. Karatalasthagitādharapallavāḥ pratenukānti kapola talodaram/ Sisi curasru jalairyadaristriyāḥ saralita pracurā-laka jālakāḥ// Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 246.

before walking ¹⁰¹ (?)” Perhaps most of the ladies went bare-foot.

Food: As regards food and drink of the people, the first thing that strikes us is that the Indians were little addicted to drink. We learn from the Arab traveller Sulaiman that the Indians “did not take wine, nor did they take vinegar which was made of wine. This did not arise from religious scruples, but from their disdain of it. They said, the prince who drank wine was no true ¹⁰² king.” His observations may be further supplemented by the accounts of Al Masūdi who says that “the Hindus abstained from drinking wine, and censured those who consumed it; not because their religion forbade it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it could be proved of one of their kings, that he had drunk (wine), he forfeited the crown; for he was (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind was affected.” ¹⁰³ We are told by Ibn Khurdādba that the kings and people of Hind ¹⁰⁴ regarded fornication as lawful and wine as unlawful. Whatever may be

101. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 181

102. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 7.

103. Ibid, p. 20.

104. Ibid, p. 15.

said of the first part of the observation, the second is
indeed creditable to the Indians.¹⁰⁵ He further tells us that
the members of the Katarīya class drank not more than three
cups of wine.¹⁰⁶ It may safely be concluded that the Katriyas¹⁰⁷
were not the total abstainers like the Brāhmaṇas. Alberuni,
however, informs us that the Indians of his time drank ^{wine} ~~in~~¹⁰⁸
before having eaten anything, and then they took their meal.

The Brāhmaṇas seem to have abstained from taking flesh,
though not quite ^{completely} ~~completely~~. We are told by Al Masūdī that¹⁰⁹
they did not eat the flesh of any animal. According to¹¹⁰
Alberuni, the Brāhmaṇas had the privilege of eating the flesh
of the gaṇḍa. He further informs us that "the animals the
killing of which was allowed were sheep, goats, gazelles,
hares, rhinoceroses (gandha), the buffaloes, fish, water

105, See also Dr. A.S. Altekar: The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their
Times, p. 346.

106. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 16.

107. See ante, p. 207.

108. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 180.

109. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I p. 19.

110. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 204.

and land birds, as sparrows, ring-doves, francolins, doves, peacocks, and other animals which were not ^{loathsome} ~~loathsome~~ to man nor ^{noxious} ~~noxious~~. That which was forbidden were cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, cross, parrots, nightingales, all kinds of eggs and wine. The latter was allowed to the Sūdra.¹¹¹ The meat of these animals was forbidden in case they died a sudden death.¹¹² It was forbidden to the Brāhmanas to take five vegetables such as 'onions, garlic, a kind of gourd, the root of a plant like the carrots called kṛṣṇa (?), and another vegetable which grew round their tanks called nāli.¹¹³ Probably they did not take milk of any animal except the cow and she-buffalo. Every Brāhmaṇa appears to have had a water-vessel for himself while eating. If another one used it, it was broken.¹¹⁴

It appears that the usual food of the people consisted of grain, milk, sugar, and clarified butter or ghee. We learn

111. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp.151-152.

112. Ibid, p. 151.

113. Ibid, p. 135.

114. Ibid, p. 134.

from Alberuni that the Hindus ate singly, one by one, on a 'table-cloth of dung.' They did not make use of the remainder of a meal, and the plates from which they had eaten were thrown away if they were earthen. They had red tooth in consequence of chewing ^{arecanuts} ~~agave-nuts~~ with betel-leaves and ¹¹⁵ chalk.

Manners and Customs: People of our period appear to have led a ^{simple} ~~single~~ and healthy life. We are told in the Karpūramāñjarī that when persons met ~~one~~ another they saluted ¹¹⁶ and hugged each other. Alberuni informs us that they did not ask permission to enter a house, but when they left it they asked permission to do so. In shaking hands they grasped the hand of a man from the convex side. In their meetings they sat cross-legged. * They considered 'the crepitus ventris as a good omen, ¹¹⁷ / sneezing as a bad omen.' We are further told in the Bālabhārata of Rājasekhara that when a man introduced ¹¹⁸ himself to the other he took the name of his father. In

(Contd. from the previous page)

115. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 180; See also Ibid, Vol. II, p. 135.

116. Ajja, Karpūramāñjarī oṣo paḍhamo paṇāmo/ Devī:-

ohi bahinīe, ālingesu man/

R. Suriga Prasad and K. P. Prasad

Rājasekhara: Karpūramāñjarī p. 35, (ed. Pt. D. R. & K. R. P.)

117. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 182.

(Contd. on the following page)

washing they began with the feet, and then washed the face.

On festive days they besmeared their bodies with ¹²⁰ ~~clay~~

instead of perfumes.

We learn from Alberuni that it was the duty of the Brāhman¹¹⁹, if he wanted to cohabit with a wife to get a child, to perform a sacrifice to the fire called garbhādhāna; but he did not perform it, because it required the presence of the woman, and therefore he felt ashamed to do so. In consequence he postponed the sacrifice and united it with the next following one, which was due in the fourth month of the pregnancy, called sīmantonnayanam. After the wife had given birth to a child, a third sacrifice was performed between the birth and the moment when the mother began to nourish the child. It was called jātakarma. The child received a name after the days of the childbed had elapsed.

(Contd. from the previous page)

118. Vyāsa-bhagavan adbhut sambhava, esa Vyāsa

pārāśaryobhivādayate/

Pl. Surya Prasad and K.P. Parash

Rājasekhara: Bālabhārata, p. 4 (ed. H. D. K. & H. P. K.)

119. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 181.

120. Ibid.

The sacrifice for the occasion of the name-giving was called nāmakarma. As long as the woman was in childbed, she did not touch any vessel, and nothing was eaten in her house, nor did the Brāhman light ~~there~~ there a fire. These days were eight for the Brāhman^a, twelve for the Kṣatriya[~], fifteen for the Vaiśya, and thirty for the Śūdra. For the low caste people who were not reckoned among any caste^t, no term was fixed. The sacrifice on the occasion of the first cutting of the child's hair was offered in the third, the perforation of the ear took place in the seventh and¹²¹ eighth years.

Another custom was that the dead were usually burnt¹²² on pyre, except perhaps in the case of hermits whose dead bodies were buried. Alberuni says that those who could not afford to burn their dead, threw them either somewhere on¹²³ the open field or into running water. The Buddhists appear¹²⁴ to have consigned the dead bodies to water. y The bodies,

121. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 156-157.

122. cf. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 10; Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 169; Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 45.

123. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 170.

124. Ibid, p. 169.

of children under three years were not burnt. We are told¹²⁵
 by Al'Utbi that when the Hindus burnt their dead, they
 threw the ashes into the Gaṅgā, for they considered that¹²⁶
 the waters would purify them from sins. According to
 Alberuni, they raised a monument similar to a milestone,
 plastered with gypsum, on the spot where the body was¹²⁷
 burnt. He further says that the body of the dead had a
 claim upon his heirs to wash, embalm, wrap it in a shroud,
 and then to burn it with as much sandal and other wood as¹²⁸
 they get. Those who attended the funeral were all regarded
 as unclean and they all washed themselves as well as their¹²⁹
 dresses. No one went to take food in a family afflicted
 with death. But after the funeral, matters appear to have
 been again as usual.

Alberuni tells us that the heirs of the deceased had
 to make above the door of the house, something like a shelf
 projecting from the wall in the open air, on which they

125. Ibid, p. 170.

126. Elliot: Hist. of India Vol. II, pp. 45-46: See also
 Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 169.

127. Ibid,

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid, p. 170.

~~130. Ibid, p. 165.~~

placed everyday a dish of something cooked and a vessel of water, till the end of ten days after the death.¹³⁰

On the tenth of the last-mentioned days, the heir spent, in the name of the deceased, much food and cold water.

After the eleventh day, the heir sent every day sufficient food for a single person and a dirham to the house of the Brāhmaṇa, and continued doing this during all the days of the mourning year without any interruption until its end.¹³¹

The duty of the heir towards the deceased in the first year consisted in his giving sixteen banquets, where every guest in addition to his food received alms also, viz., on the fifteenth and sixteenth days after death; further, once a month during the whole year. The banquet in the sixth month was to be more rich and more liberal than the others.

Further, the banquet on the last but one day of the year was devoted to the deceased and his ancestors and the final banquet was on the last day of the year.¹³² If the heir was a son,¹³³ he had to wear mourning dress throughout the whole year.

Nourishment was forbidden to the heirs for one single day in the first part of the mourning-year.^{134.}

130. Ibid, p. 165.

131. Ibid, p. 166.

132. Ibid, p. 165.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

We learn from Abū Zaid that "some of the kings of India when they ascend the throne, have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten ^{some} ~~some~~ of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left.¹³⁵"

He further informs us that when a person, either woman or man, became old, and the senses were enfeebled, he begged ~~some~~ one of his family to throw him into the fire, or to drown him into the water.¹³⁶ According to Alberuni, no man of distinction did it except the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, specially at those times which were prized as the most suitable for a man to acquire in them, for a future repetition of life, a better form and condition than that in which he happened to have been born and to live. Burning

135. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 9.

136. Ibid, pp. 9-10.

oneself was forbidden to Brāhmaṇas^a and Kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore, if they wanted to kill themselves, they did so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner, or they hired ^{somebody} ~~somebody~~ to drown them in the Gaṅgā, keeping them under water till they were dead.^{137.}

137. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 170.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

The Brahmanical Hinduism which had contributed to the gradual but none the less steady displacement of Buddhism was the great and outstanding religious fact during the period under review. During the reign of the illustrious Harṣa of Kanauj Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side. It was after his death that the former began to decline. The cult of devotion and the Paurāṇic Hinduism seem to have developed. Incarnations of Viṣṇu such as Matsya (fish), Kūrma (tortoise), Varāha (boar), Narasimha (man-lion), Kṛmukṣ Vāmana (dwarf), Parāśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki appear to have become popular gods. Images of Viṣṇu were enshrined in temples. The Vaillabhattasvāmin temple stone inscription, dated V.E. 932-875 A.D., bears testimony to the fact that Alla built a temple of Viṣṇu for the development of spiritual merit. The Siyadoni epigraph refers to a number of synonymous names of Viṣṇu such as

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 60.

2. See ante, p. 158.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 157

Viṣṇubhattāraka, Nārāyaṇabhattāraka⁴, Vāmanasvāmidēva⁵
 (also referred to in the Ahar inscription), Cakrasvāmidēva⁶,
 Tribhuvanasvāmidēva and Murāri⁶. In the Gwalior inscription⁷
 of Bhoja I of Kanauj, he is called Narakadvīṣa⁷. The Pehea
 record simply describes him as the god riding on garuḍa⁸
 (Viṣṇu garuḍāsana). The Buckala inscription, dated V.E.
 872-815 A.D., calls him Parameśvara⁹. Some scholars believe
 that Parameśvara of this inscription stands for Śiva.
 This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details

4. A temple of Nārāyaṇa was built by queen Citralekhā
 in 955 A.D. at Bayana in the Bharatpur state. The
 relevant inscription recording the fact is incised
 on a slab in the pavement of the Ukha mosque at Bayana,
 now transformed into the Ukha mandir. A portion of an
 old Hindu temple found inside the Ukha mandir might
^{represent}
~~represent~~ the remains of the temple of Nārāyaṇa
 erected by queen Citralekhā. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.
 India, Western Circle, 1919, p. 43; 1920, p. 109.
5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 57.
6. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 168, 173-79.
7. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 107, 110, vs. 1, 25.
8. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 187, 189.
9. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200

of the temple where the inscription was found. Although it is nowadays called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtless representing ^{some} ~~some~~ form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus and conchshell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaiṣṇava structure.

The next popular god very frequently referred to in epigraphs was Śiva. We come across his several names such as Umā¹⁰śeśvara, Trilocana,¹¹ Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva,¹² Yogaśvāmin,¹³ Paśupati,¹⁴ Saṃbhu,¹⁵ Sidheśvara Mahādeva,¹⁶ Mahākāla,¹⁷ Kālapriya¹⁸ and Aghoreśvara in the inscriptions. Śiva appears,

10. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 162.

11. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 11, 13.

12. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 263-67

13. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 175

14. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 95.

15. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 195

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 96.

17. Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 185-86

18. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 38

to have been worshipped either in human form or in the
 form of linga (phallus).¹⁹

The power and influence of Śaivism is reflected in the numerous temples dedicated to Śiva. The Jodhpur inscription of Bānka tells us that Śiluka constructed a lofty temple (mandir) of Siddhesvara Mahādeva at the holy place called Trotā.²⁰ We learn from Merutunga's Prabandha-²¹ cintāmani that the Caulukya king Mūlarāja was a fervent devotee of Śiva in the form of Somanātha or Somesvara; ^{and} the temple of Mūlesvara and the Tripurāprāsāda appear to have been built by him in honour of Somanātha.²² We further learn from the Ekalingaji stone inscription of Naravāhana,²³ dated V.E. 1028 (c. 971 A.D.), that Ekalinga Śiva was worshipped in Mewar.²⁴

19. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 103.

20. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 96.

21. For his date, see ante, p. ^{115,} 104, fn. 29.

22. Tathā nityam nityam --- Śrīśomesvarapattano yātrāyam
 Sivabhaktitayā vrajanistadbhaktiparituṣṭaḥ Somanātha
 upadesadānpūrvam mandalinagaramāgataḥ/tena rājāṣṭatra
 Mūlesvara iti prāsādaḥ kṛtaḥ/Patra namaśaikīrṣāharṣena
 pratidinamāgacchantasya nṛpatstadbhaktiparituṣṭaḥ
 Śrīśomesvarah aham sasāgara eva bhavannagare
 sameśyānityabhidhāya Śrīmadanahillapurevatarāmakarot//

See Prabandhacintāmani, p. 17 (Singhi ed.)

(Contd. on the following page)

An early and celebrated focus of Śaivism was in Mālava whose capital Ujjayinī or Avanti was famous through the ages as the seat of worship of Mahākāla Śiva. Early in the tenth century, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Indra III, while leading an expedition to conquer Kānyakubja, is believed to have stopped with his war elephants at the courtyard of the temple of Mahākāla to pay homage to the deity.²⁵ About the middle of the tenth century, Dhanika, a Paramāra chief of Vāgada (the modern Banswara and Dungarpur states in Southern Rajputana, not far from Ujjain), is ^{known} ~~known~~ to have ^{~ 26} erected the Śiva temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla.

(Contd. from the previous page)

25. Prākṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions of Kattywar (published by the Bhavnagar Arch. Dept., Bhavnagar), pp. 69-71; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in J.B.⁶R.A.S., 1905-08, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-67.
24. The deity is still worshipped at the place now called Ekalingaji, about twelve miles north of Udaipur on the way to Nathadvra.
25. See ante, pp. ~~86-87~~ 95-96.
26. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 41.

From

The Mālava we may pass on to Bundelkhand which was an important centre of Śaivism in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The splendour of Khajuraho reached its climax in the tenth century during the reign of Dhāṅga, who was a devout Śaiva, and died, according to the Khajuraho stone inscription, dated V.E. 1059=1002 A.D., at Prayāga, "fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and uttering holy prayers." ²⁷ From the same inscription we learn that he erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu. "He also distributed great quantities of gold and established in connection with the temple dwellings for pious ~~Brahmanas~~ Brāhmaṇas to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows." ²⁸ The largest building of the Khajuraho group is the greatest Śiva temple called Kandariyā Mahādeo, believed to have been erected during the tenth century, A.D.

The inscriptions further refer to Sūrya among the

27. Rakṣtvā kṣitim āmburāsirasenām etām ananyāyatīm,
Jīvitvā śaradām śatām śamadhikām Śrī-Dhāṅga-
pṛthvipatīh.

Rudraṁ mudritālocanaḥ sa hr̥daye dhyāyaṇjapaṇjāhnavī-
Kālindyoḥ salile kalevara-parityāgād agānnirvṛtīm//

55//. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 146.

28. Ibid, vs. 52-54

gods worshipped during the period under consideration. He was known by various names such as Indrarājādityadeva,²⁹ Indrādityadeva,³⁰ Tarmādityadeva³¹ and Gaṅgāditya³¹. The Siyadoni inscription refers to a term Bhaillasvānideva, which³² according to a Bhilsa record was a designation of the Sun.³³ Lalārka seems to have been another form of the Sun.³³ The Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II informs us that the Cāhamāna prince Indrarāja built a temple to the Sun-god (Indrādityadeva) and applied to the provincial governor of Ujjain for an ^{endowment} ~~endowment~~³⁴ for its upkeep.

The inscriptions also refer to such gods as Vināyaka³⁵ or Dāmodara, Nityapramuditadeva,³⁶ Kumāra³⁷ (Kārtikēya) with his host of Mātrikas (female companions), Indramādhava, Kuṇḍumkāra³⁸ and Lauḍośvara.

29. Ibid, Vol. XIV, pp. ~~180-85~~. 180-85.

30. Ibid, Vol. IX, pp.1, 5.

31. Ibid, Vol. IV, pp. 121-23.

32. J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXIX, p. 112

33. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp.116-18; Vol. IV, pp. 128-29.

34. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 186.

35. Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 279.

36. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 266

37. Ibid, Vol. XVIII, pp. 109, 114, verse 22.

38. Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 153, lines 18-19.

The worship of goddesses such as Bhagavatī,³⁹ also
 called Durgā,⁴⁰ Candikā or Cāmundā,⁴¹ Sri Amba Lohidevi,⁴²
 Sri or Lakṣmī,⁴³ Vatayakṣmidevi,⁴⁴ Kanakadevi or Kāñcanadevi,⁴⁵
 Sarvamangaladevi,⁴⁶ Vasudhārā,⁴⁷ Gandhadevi,⁴⁸ Gaurī,⁴⁹ and
 Vāṅgmūrti (goddess of speech) seems to have been prevalent.
 Bāṇa in his Kādambarī gives a graphic description of the
 temple of Candikā and refers to offerings of blood made to
 her, to her trident (Trisūla) and her slaughter of
 Mahiṣāṣura.⁵⁰

Idols of these gods and goddesses appear to have
 been chiselled with due attention. Alberuni tells us that

39. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p.183; Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, p.140; Ibid, p.112.

40. Bāṇa, Kādambarī, para 28.

41. Rājasekhara: Karpūramanjari (ed. Pt. D. Prasad and K.P. Parab),
 p. 100.

42. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 178, line 35.

43. Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 109, verse 18.

44. Ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 188, line 33.

45. Ibid, Vol. XIX, p. 58

46. Ibid, p. 60.

47. Ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 325, 327, verse 21.

48. Rājasekhara: Karpūramanjari, (ed. Pt. D. Prasad and K.P. Parab),
 p. 99.

49. Rājasekhara: Bālabhārata, (ed. Pt. D. Prasad and K.P. Parab),
 p. 1.

50. Para 28.

"all idols are constructed according to certain measures determined by ^{idol} ~~idol~~-fingers for every single limb, but sometimes they differ regarding the measure of a limb. If the artist keeps the right measure and does not make anything too large nor too small, he is free from sin, and is sure that the being which he represented will not visit him with any mishap. If he makes the idol one cubit high and together with the throne two cubits, he will obtain health. If he makes it higher still, he will be praised. But he ~~ex~~ must know that making the idol too large, specially that of the Sun, will hurt the ruler, and making it too small will hurt the artist. If he gives it a thin belly, this helps and furthers the famine in the country; if he gives it a lean belly, this ruins property. If the hand of the artist slips so as to produce something like a wound, he will have a wound in his own body which will kill him. If it is not ^{completely} ~~completely~~ even on both sides, so that the one shoulder is higher than the other, his wife will perish. If he turns the eye upward, he will be blind for lifetime; if he turns it downward, he will have many ^{troubles} ~~troubles~~ and sorrows."

He further says, "If the statue is made of ^{some} ~~some~~

precious stone, it is better than if it were made of wood, and wood is better than ^{clay} ~~clay~~. The benefits of a statue of precious stone will be common to all the men and women of the empire. A golden statue will bring power to him who erected it, a statue of silver will bring him renown, one of bronze will bring him an increase of his rule, one of stone the acquisition of landed property.^{52.}"

As regards the pujārīs (worshippers) of the gods and goddesses, he gives the following information: "To the idol of Viṣṇu are devoted the class called Bhāgavata; to the idol of the ^{Sun,} ~~Sun,~~ the Maga, i.e., the Magians; to the idol of Mahādeva, a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people, and swim in the pools. The Brāhmanas are devoted to the Eight Mothers, the Shamanians to Buddha, to Arhant the class called ^{53.} ~~Maga~~ ^{Maga}."

The eclectic ^{tendencies} ~~tendencies~~ of the times appear to have engendered a great spirit of toleration. Followers of different sects ⁵⁴ met each other without sectarian jealousy.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid, p. 121.

54. Ibn Khurdādba tells us that there were forty-two religious sects in Hind. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. Page 17; see also Al Idriāi, Elliot: Hist. of India, vol. I, p. 76.

We are told by Bāṇa that in the Āśrama of Divākaramitra were assembled Ārhatas (Jains), Maskaris (Sanyāsīs), Śvetapatas (Śvetāmbara Jains), white clothed Bhikṣus, Bhāgavatas, Varnis (Brahmacārīs), Keśaluṃcakas (those who rooted out their hair), Kāpilas, Lokāyatikas (atheists), ^{Jainis} ~~Jains~~ (Buddhists), Kānādas (followers of Kanāda's Vaiśeṣika philosophy), Aupaniṣadas (Vedāntins), Aiśvarakarmikas (Naiyāyikas) and Karandharmas (the philosophers of Dhātuvāda or elements).⁵⁵ The widened outlook in religion ^{is} ~~in~~ remarkably reflected in the religious ideals of the Pratihāras. The Pratihāra kings did not confine their spiritual allegiance to one and the same deity.

⁵⁶ Vatsarāja and ⁵⁷ Mahendrapāla II are described in inscriptions as devotees of Śiva, whereas Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I are said to have been avowed worshippers of Bhagavatī.⁵⁸ Bhoja I was ^{also} ~~also~~ devoted to a special manifestation of Viṣṇu.⁵⁹ Rāmaḥhadra and Mahīpāla I are characterised as 'paramādityabhakta' -- ~~devout~~ -- devout worshippers of the Sun-god.⁶⁰ The latter seems to have had

55. Harṣacarita, p. 316.

56. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112.

57. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 183.

58. Ibid., Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112; Ibid., p. 140

59. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 156; see also ante, p. ⁷⁰⁻⁷¹ 67.

60. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112; Ibid., p. 140

predilections for the worship of Bhagavatī as well, for her image occurs on his seal.

The different modes of worship of the gods and goddesses gave rise probably during this period to new codes called Āgamas and Tantras which laid down provisions for such worship and asceticism.

The Vedic householder, sacrificing morning and evening to the household fire, seems to have been still alive though his number was declining. Atrisamhitā says that a Brāhmaṇa, who does not keep agnihotra, is a person whose food should not be accepted. The existence of Agnihotra is borne out by Alberuni who observes that the Brāhmaṇas who kept one fire were called Ishtins and those who kept three were called Agnihottrins. Agnihotra, however, was too troublesome to be long practised and the worship of idols which gradually was ^{now} introduced into every house left the other worship neglected.

61. Caityapraṇatipareḥ pārasariṣu / yajñapatrapavitrapāṇaṁ
prakīrṇabarhiṣi prottejasi jātavedasi haviṣi vaṣatkurvati
yāyajūkajane. Harṣacarita, p.125; see ^{also} Sachau:
Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 131.

62. V. 254.

63. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 102.

The Grhya-sūtra ritual requires animal sacrifices in connection with some popular deities.⁶⁴ These sacrifices appear to have prevailed during the early mediaeval period of Indian history, for we are told by Alberuni that the worshippers of some deities like Durgā, Mahādeva, Kshetrapāla, Vināyaka, etc., killed sheep and buffaloes with axes to offer them as naivedya to their gods and goddesses.⁶⁵

Another feature of Hinduism of this period seems to have been the performance of daily ablutions and Sandhyās.⁶⁶ Alberuni tells us that a Brāhmaṇa had to wash himself thrice a day.⁶⁷ Atri lays down that a twice born should recite Sandhyā thrice a day.⁶⁸ Vyāsa concurs and names the three Sandhyās as Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī.⁶⁹

Fasts also appear to have gained popularity.⁷⁰ Alberuni

64. Mānava, II, 14; Āpastamba, XX, 12-20; Bhāradvāja, II, 10.

65. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 120.

66. Rājasekhara: Bālabhārata, (ed. Pt. D. Prasad & K. P. Parashar), p. 4.

67. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 133.

68. Quoted in Ācāraṇayukha, p. 39.

69. Ibid.

70. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 96, vs. 22-23; J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 516, verse. 5.

dwells upon their various forms and records them as follows :- upavāsa, kṛcchra, parāka, candraṇa and māsavāsa (masopavāsa). He further records the efficacy of fasts. "If a man fasts all the days of Caitra, he obtains wealth and joy over the nobility of his children. If he fasts Vaiśākha, he will be a lord over his tribe and great in his army. If he fasts Jyaiṣṭha, he will be a favourite of the women. ^{If he fasts Āṣāḍha, he will obtain wealth.} If he fasts Śrāvaṇa, he obtains wisdom. If he fasts Bhādrapada, he obtains health and valour, riches and cattle. If he fasts Āśvayuja, he will always be victorious over his enemies. If he fasts Kārttika, he will be grand in the eyes of people and will obtain his wishes. If he fasts Mārgaśīrṣa, he will be born in the most beautiful and fertile country. If he fasts Pausa, he obtains a high reputation. If he fasts Māgha, he obtains innumerable wealth. If he fasts Phālguna, he will be beloved. He, however, who fasts during all the months of the year, only twelve times breaking the fast, will reside in paradise 10,000 years, and will thence return to life as the member of a noble, high and respected family."

Fasts were observed on some auspicious days. We are told by Alberuni that "the eighth and ^{eleventh} ~~eleventh~~ days

71. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 172-73.

72. Ibid, pp. 173-74.

of the white half of every month are fast days, except in the case of the leap month, for it is disregarded, being considered unlucky. When the moon is in Rohinī, the fourth of her stations, on the eighth day of the black half, it is a fast-day called Jayantī. Giving alms on this day is an expiation for all sins. This condition of the fast-day does not in general apply to all months, but in particular only to Bhādrapada, since Vāsudeva was born in this month and on this day, whilst the moon stood in the station Rohinī. When the moon stands in Punarvasu, the seventh of her stations, on the eleventh day of the white half of the month, this is a fast-day, called Atj (? Atātāja). If a man does works of piety on this day, he will be enabled to obtain whatever he wishes. The sixth day of Caitra is a fast day holy to the ^{sun.} Sun. In the month Āshāḍha, when the moon stands in Anurādhā, the seventeenth of her signs, there is a fast-day holy to Vāsudeva called Devasīnī (?). The day of full moon in the month Śrāvaṇa is a fast-day holy to Somanātha. When in the month Āśvayuja the moon stands in Alsharātān (the lunar station) and the sun is in virgo, it is a fast-day. The eighth of the same month is a fast-day holy to Bhagavatī. Fasting is broken when the moon rises. The fifth day of Bhādrapada is a fast-day holy to the sun, called Shaṭ. They anoint the solar rays, and in particular those rays which enter through the windows, with

various kinds of balsamic ointments, and place upon them odoriferous plants and flowers. When in the month Kārttika the moon stands in Revatī, the last of her stations, it is a fast-day in commemoration of the waking up of Vāsudeva. It is called deotthīni, i.e., the rising of the Deva. On that day they soil themselves with the dung of cows, and break fasting by feeding upon a ^{mixture} ~~mixture~~ of cow's milk, wine and dung. This day is the first of the five days which are called Bhīṣma pañcarātri. They fast during them in honour of Vāsudeva. On the second of them the Brahmans break fasting, after them the others. On the sixth day of Pauṣa, is a fasting in honour of the sun. On the third day of Māgha there is a fasting for the women, not for the men. It is called Gaur-t-r (gaurītrīyā ?) and lasts the whole day and night.⁷³

Stress was ^{also} ~~also~~ laid on dāna (gifts). The records depose that villages or lands were granted to temples and Brāhmanas free of rent and forced labour.⁷⁴ Al Utbī informs us that "the kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass their treasures and ^{precious} ~~previous~~ jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their ⁷⁵ ~~god~~." It was customary for

73. *Shik.*, p. 175-77.

74. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 5; *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 186.

75. *Elliot: Hist. of India*, Vol. II, p. 34.

donors to make grants by a libation of water after bathing⁷⁶
 bathing in a sacred river such as the Gaṅgā,⁷⁷ the Yamunā,
 or in confluences of rivers such as the Sarayū and the⁷⁸
 Ghargharā, the Trivanī⁷⁹ at Allahabad or that of the Varuṇā⁸⁰
 and the Gaṅgā at Banaras.

The usual occasions for such gifts were the lunar⁸¹ or⁸²
 solar eclipse, the annual Śrāddha in honour of one's father,⁸³
 the royal birthday (jātakarma),⁸⁴ the name giving (Nāmakarana)⁸⁵
 or the installation ceremonies,⁸⁶ the Uttarāyana⁸⁷ and the⁸⁸
 Dakṣiṇāyana Saṁkrāntis, the Akṣaya-tīyā⁸⁹ festival and so on.

76. J.A.S.B., Vol. V, (1922), p.83.

77. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 103.

78. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 194, 196.

79. Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 129.

80. Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 198-99

81. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 101.

82. Ibid., p. 108.

83. Ibid., p. 105.

84. Ibid., p. 127.

85. Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 131, 134.

86. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 121.

87. Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 159.

88. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 35.

89. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 98-99

Among the objects gifted the most prominent seem to have been villages, lands, cows, gold, clothes, horses and bedstead. The Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Mahārāja Vināyakapāla records that a village named Tikkarigrāma in the Vārāṇasī-*viṣaya* of the Pratiṣṭhāna-bhukti, was given by Vināyakapāla, in order to increase the religious merit of his parents, after bathing on the sixth lunar day in the river Gaṅgā to Bhaṭṭa Bhullāka of the Darbhi ⁹⁰gotra. The Kartabgarh stone inscription, dated V.E. 1003-946 A.D., refers to a gift given by Mādhava. It tells us that Mādhava ^{having} ~~had~~ come to Ujjayinī on business, bathed at the temple of Mahākāla, worshipped the god Śiva and meditated on the unreality of life and wealth, bestowed, on the Mīna Sankrānti day, the village of Dhārāpadraka, with all its appurtenances, for repairs to, and maintenance of daily services at the temple of Indrādityadeva at Ghonṭavarshikā, a place ^{associated} ~~associated~~ with Nityapramuditadeva, at the request of the great feudatory Indrarāja, ^{son} ~~son~~ of Darlabharāja of the Cāhamāna race. ⁹¹ The Jhusi copperplate inscription, dated V.E. 1084-1027 A.D., states that Trilocanapāla after ~~having~~ ^{having} bathed in the Gaṅgā and having worshipped Śiva, etc., gave Lebhundaka village with its belongings to six thousand Brāhmanas belonging to Pratiṣṭhāna on the occasion

90. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 140-41.

91. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 185-86

of the Dakṣiṇāyana Saṁkrānti. The Pehoa inscription refers to a tax imposed by horse-dealers on the sale of horses ^{for} the benefit of three temples built in Kansu] ^{and} a fourth built at rehoa or Prthūdaka on the river Sarasvatī in the Punjab, to be divided in certain fixed proportions among ⁹³ them.

Perhaps gifts were also made with a view to propitiating the planets. The images of the planets were probably made of copper, ^{crystal} ~~crystal~~, red sandal-wood, gold, silver, iron, lead and bell-metal or they might have been drawn on a piece of cloth in these colours or painted in circles on the ground with colours. It is very likely that flowers, clothes, fragrant substances and incense of guggulu were offered to them and oblations of cooked food were made to them in fire.

~~The~~ The cult of pilgrimage appears to have ^{become} ~~become~~ fairly popular in the period under consideration. Certain places such as Vārāṇasī (Benaras), {Pūkara} (Puskara), Kurukṣetra, ⁹⁴ Mahūra (Mathurā) and Multan were centres of pilgrimage. We are told by Alberuni that pilgrimages were not obligatory to the Hindus, but facultative and meritorious. He further adds, "A man sets off to wander to ^{some} ~~some~~ holy region, to some much venerated idol or to ^{some} ~~some~~ of the ^{holy} ~~holy~~ rivers. He

92. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 34.

93. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 242-50.

94. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 146-48.
(Contd. on the following page)

worships in them, worships the idol, makes presents to it, recites many hymns and prayers, fasts and gives alms to the Brahmans, the priests, and others. He shaves the hair of his head and beard, and returns home.⁹⁶

The Arab travellers were struck with the firm belief of the Hindus in metempsychosis.⁹⁷ As a matter of fact this creed is peculiar to the Hindus and the wonder is that it has remained unshaken throughout all the changes in philosophical thought. That the soul is immortal and ^{that} ~~that~~ it migrates from body to body, even a vegetable body, has been believed in by the Buddhists, ^{the} ~~and~~ Jainas and the Hindus. But the orthodox and the unorthodox, the Hindus and the Buddhists have utilized their belief in metempsychosis to inculcate high principles of morality. The punishment for sin and the reward for merits were sure to overtake the soul in the next life if not in this and this fear, it cannot but be said to the credit of it, made the Hindu society moral.

✓ The theories of Ahimsā and Sanyāsa seem to have gained popularity. The former ^{appears} ~~appears~~ to have ~~been~~ become acceptable to almost all the different schools of religious thought in India. Its opponents were chiefly the Mīmāṃsakas

(Contd. from the previous page).

95. Ibid, p. 142.

96. Ibid.

97. Elliot: Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 7, 9

or the upholders of the old Vedic sacrifice, besides of course the Lokāyatikas or atheists and perhaps rasupatas but even these Mīmāṃsikas had already ^{come} ~~come~~ round to accept it so far as ordinary slaughter of animals was concerned. The cause of the latter was championed by Śaṅkarācārya. He advocated the superiority of Sanyāsa to Karmamārga. The rage for Pravrajyā or ^{giving} ~~giving~~ up the world seems to have been due to the 'belief that this world was full of misery, that the soul was bound in the chain of transmigration from body to body according to its karma and that the only escape from the misery of the present and future births lay in Pravrajyā.⁹⁸'

98. See Harṣacarita, p. 338.

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE AND ART

SECTION A
LITERATURE.

The Gurjara-Pratihāras were patrons of literature and art. Rājasekhara was the greatest literary ornament of the court of Mahendrapāla I and his son Mahīpāla¹. In his plays, namely, Viddhasālabhañjikā, Karpūramañjarī, Bālarāmāyana, and Bālabhārata, Rājasekhara declares himself to be the spiritual teacher of Mahendrāpāl¹I. He further tells us in the Bālabhārata that it was at the request of Mahīpāla² that the Bālabhārata was represented at Mahodaya. The last known date of Mahendrapāla I is 907 A.D. and the first known date of his son Mahīpāla is 914 A.D.³ We may thus safely

1. Raghukulatilako Mahendrapālah sakalakalānilayah sa yasya śiṣyah. Rājasekhara; Viddhasālabhañjikā, 1.6 (ed by Arto); Mahindavālassa ko a gurū. Rājasekhara; Karpūramañjarī, 1.5; Nibhararāssa taha uvajjhāo. Ibid, 1.9.; Nirbhayagurūh. Rājasekhara; Bālarāmāyana, 1.5.; Devo yasya Mahendrapālanṛpatih śiṣyo Raghurāmanih.

Rājasekhara; Bālabhārata, 1. 11.

P. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parashar

2. Ibid, p. 2 (ed. by ~~Dr. D. S. & K. P. Parashar~~)

3. See ante, p/ 88-89.

conclude that Rājasekhara lived about the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

^{His} His works are full of information. We are told by him that Ānvikṣikī (Philosophy), Trayī (Theology), Vārtā (Economics) and Dandanīti (Politics) were the subjects studied at his time. ⁵ Śruti, Smṛti, Itihāsa (History), Purāṇa, Pramāṇavidyā, Rājasekhantatrayī, Kāmasāstra (Erotics) and V'raṇā (Dramaturgy) were the sources of literature.

He further informs us that there were ten stages of poetical ⁷ skill. The sixth was that of a Mahākavi and the seventh

4. See Fleet: Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 178; Kielhorn: Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 162; Nachrichten Vonder K. Ges. der. wiss. zu Göttingen, 1904, p. 204 ff.; Aufrecht: Z.D.M.G., Vol. XXV, p. 1; ^{on the search for Sanskrit mss. in the Bomb. Presidency} Dr. Bhandarkar: Ref. (1882-3), p. 44; ^{Ref.} A. Boarsoch: O.C. p. 17; ^{Bomb. Sanskrit Series, XXXI,} Peterson: ^{Ref.} p. 101; Cunningham: Arch. Surv. Vol. IX, p. 85; H. H. Wilson: Theatre II, 362; Maxmüller: India, what can it teach us?, p. 328; F. E. Hall: Vestiges of the Three Royal lines of Kāṇṭyakubja, J. A. S. B., Vol. XXI, p. 1; V. S. Apte: Rājasekhara, his life and writings, p. 2 f.

5. Rājasekhara: Kāvyaśikṣā, p. 4, (ed. C. C. Dalaly and R. A. K. Sastry)

6. Ibid., p. 35.

7. Dada ca Kaveravasthā bhavanti, Ibid., p. 19

8. Ibid.

that of a Kaṭirāja. "The latter was unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments." He also refers to ^{such} materials as Lekhanī (pen), Masi (ink) and Tāḍipatra which were used in writing.

His information may be supplemented by the accounts of Alberuni who refers to alphabets. Alberuni informs us

9. Rājasekhara refers to Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhāṁśa ^{and} Bhūtabhāṣā as languages spoken at ^{his} his time:

Gandādyāḥ Sanskrīttasthāḥ paricitarucayah

prākṛite Lātādeśyah

Sāpabhraṁśaprayogāḥ sakalamarubhuvaṣṭakka-

bhāṇakāśca

Āvāntyāḥ pāriyātrāḥ saha daśapurajairbhūtabhā-

ṣaṁ bhajante

Yomadhyomadhyadeśaṁ nivasati sa kavīha

sarvabhāṣāṇaṁ saṁgrahāḥ//

Ibid, p. 51.

10. Yastu tatra tatra bhāṣāviśeṣe teṣu prabandheṣu-
tasminstasminśca rase svatantrāḥ sa kavirajaḥ.

Ibid, p. 19; See also, p. 51.

Ibid., p. 51.

11. Rājasekhara: Kavyamāṇsa, p. 51.

that the most generally known alphabet was called Siddhamātrikā. It was used in Kashmir and Madhyadesa, i.e., the middle country, the country all around Kanauj, which was also called Āryāvarta. In Mālava there was another alphabet called Nāgara, which differed from the former only in the shape of the characters.¹²

Sanskrit and Prākṛit were the languages mostly used by the writers.¹³ Most of the Pratihāra inscriptions are in Sanskrit. Rājasekhara, however, used both the languages. Of his literary productions we know of the following :-

(1) ~~Balaramayana~~: Bāla-rāmāyana:

It relates in ten acts the whole story of Rāma from Sītā's svayamvara to the slaying of Rāvana and the return to Ayodhyā after Sītā had passed through the ordeal of fire.

12. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 173.

13. Rājasekhara describes the relative beauty of Sanskrit and Prākṛit in the following words :-

karusā sakka¹ abandhā paubandho vi hoi sunnāro/
Purusamahilāṇaṁ jettiabhihantaraṁ tettiabhinā-
ṇaṁ. //

Rājasekhara : Karpūramanjari, p. 9,

H. Durga Prasad and K. P. Parashar
(ed. Pt. D. P. and K. P. P.)

The narration often differs from that of the Rāmāyana. Rāvana is from the very beginning represented as a rival of Rāma for the hands of Sītā and his love and longing are more prominent than his ferocity. The banishment of Rāma is brought about by ¹⁴Suppanakhā and other demons under the disguise of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī.

In the Bāla-rāmāyana Rājasekhara perpetrates, both by its bulk and execution, an appalling monstrosity of a so-called drama. He makes the mistake not only of choosing, with little poetic and less dramatic power, a banal epic theme, but ^{also} ¹⁵of attempting to outdo his predecessors, in scattering, through its entire length, the debris of a too fertile talent, which, in the shape of unending quantities of descriptive and sentimental verses, ^{come} ~~come~~ up to a total of nearly seven hundred and eighty. Even the Prologue itself, which contains, with its twenty stanzas, a voluble account of

14. The poet's mastery of the several languages is better shown in the Bāla-rāmāyana than in any other of his plays.

15. Indebtedness to Bhavabhūti is expressly acknowledged, and unmistakable evidence of imitation has been shown by V.S. Apte, see Rājasekhara: His life and Writings, p. 37 f.

himself and his indiscernible merits, reaches almost to the dimension of an act, while each of the ten acts, averaging more than seventy verses and once running up to one hundred, has almost the bulk of a small drama. It has been calculated that more than two hundred stanzas are in the long Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre and about ninety in the still longer Sragdharā. It is hard to see how so lengthy a play could well have been brought out upon the stage. And the author himself seems to have felt this difficulty; for he says: "If ^{some} ~~one~~ wise critic should find it to be a fault of this Bāla-rāmāyana that it is too long, that acute critic should be asked whether or not ^{some} ~~one~~ virtue is to be found in the diction. And if this be the case, well then, let him read and enjoy my six compositions."

In the construction of plot, ^{some} ~~one~~ variation is shown by making of Rāvana's misdirected passion for Sītā the prime cause of his feud, the feud itself being conceived, not originally but after Bhavabhūti, as the central motif. This substitution, however, of love and longing for mock-^{heroic} ~~heroic~~ ferocity is hardly an improvement. Rāvana with his amorousness and his disappointed hope, becomes more ludicrous than impressive, and it is not surprising

that Parasurāma, instead of lending him assistance insults him openly. The diplomacy of Mālyavat is also repeated from Bhavabhūti with ^{some} ~~some~~ slight variation, such as, the device of bringing about the banishment of Rāma by Mantharā and the demons in the disguise of Kaikeyī and Daśaratha. The contrivance of a play within a play is ^{also} ~~also~~ borrowed in act ⁱⁱⁱ ~~iii~~ from Bhavabhūti. Rāvana pines away with hopeless creve-cœur; and for his amusement a troupe of actors which visits his palace enacts, by happy or unhappy chance, a miniature play on the betrothal of Sītā to Rāma; the realism of the scene infuriates Rāvana, and the play is interrupted. The scene is not ineffectively conceived, but the motif is farcically repeated by a second cruder effort, in act v, to amuse Rāvana by means of marionettes dressed up as Sītā, with speaking parrots inside. The ² ~~1~~ idā, however, seems to have pleased the author, for he again utilises the head of a similar ~~of~~ speaking marionette, representing the severed head of Sītā, as a part of Mālyavat's ^{stratagem} ~~stratagem~~ to frighten the enemies. Rāvana's Viraha, in ^{which} ~~which~~ he demands tidings of his beloved in furor poeticus from nature, the seasons, streams and birds, is obviously a faint imitation of Purūras's madness in the Vikramorvasītya; but it is as unnecessary as it is tedious. The narrative thereafter

drags on with a profusion of description, and there is little action throughout. In the last act, Rājasekhara describes in nearly a hundred stanzas the aerial tour of Rāma and his party, which includes a visit also to the world of the moon.

(2) Karpūramañjarī:

It is written entirely in Prākṛit. It is called ¹⁷ Saṭṭaka. The play contains four acts called javanikāntara. It informs us how the king Candapāla marries Karpūramañjarī, the daughter of the Kuntala king, and thus becomes a paramount sovereign. The jealousy of the queen, and the machinations that bring the king and the ^{heroine} ~~heroine~~ together ¹⁸ form the plot of the play.

(3) Viddha-sālabhañjikā:

It is a Nāṭikā in four acts. The plot is quite similar to that of the Karpūramañjarī. The king Candāvarman of Lāṭa has no son. He therefore tries to pass off as a boy his only daughter Mṛgānkāvalī, and sends her under the name of

17. This word is said to mean a ^{kind} ~~king~~ of Nāṭikā where the praveśakas and ^U Viśkambhakas are wanting. See Karpūramañjarī, 1.6.

18. It was produced at the request of his wife, Avantismadarī.

Mrgāṅkavarman to the queen of king Vidyādharamalla.

In the first act, Vidyādharamalla tells the Vidūṣaka that he has, in a dream, seen a beautiful girl; but that, as he tried to catch her, she escaped, leaving her necklace. This was, as we learn in the third act, no dream, but an actual fact brought about by the contrivings of the king's minister, who knew who the disguised 'boy' in the queen's apartment was. An attendant persuades "the boy" to enter the king's sleeping-room, telling her that she would there meet the god of love. A seer had already foretold that whoever should take Mrgāṅkāvalī to wife would ~~become~~ become a universal emperor. And on this account the minister desired to bring it about that his royal master and Mrgāṅkāvalī should fall in love with each other.

Afterwards, the king sees in the garden some maidens amusing themselves at swinging, and among them recognizes the face he saw in his dream. He is now thoroughly ^{enamoured.} ~~enamoured.~~ In a pleasure house he beholds a picture and a statue of Mrgāṅkāvalī, and puts the necklace on the statue. At last he gets a glance of the girl herself, but she immediately disappears.

In the ~~second~~ second act, after some irrelevant incidents, the king again beholds his beloved, and learns that she is, in her turn, enamoured of him.

In the third act, after a long dialogue, and a trick played by the Vidūṣaka upon the queen's confidante Mekhalā, we find the king and the ^{heroine} ~~heroine~~ together in the garden. But their meeting is brought to a sudden end by the announcement of the approach of the queen.

In the fourth act, the Vidūṣaka and his wife appear on the stage, the latter, asleep. In her sleep, she discloses the fact that the queen is intending to make the king marry Mrgāṅkavarman in the disguise of a woman, in order to get her revenge for the trick played upon Mekhalā. Further on, the wedding takes place and now a messenger comes from Candravarman to announce that his master has got a son, and that the supposed Mrgāṅkavarman is in fact the daughter of Candravarman.

(4) Bālabhārata or Pracanda-pāṇḍava:

It contains two acts which vividly describe the marriage of ^{Dr} Draupadī, the loss of kingdom at dice, the public insult of Draupadī and the departure of the Pāṇḍavas to the forest.

(5) Kāvyaṇimānsā:

It is ^a unique work of literary criticism and tradition. It is supposed to be a fragment of a bigger treatise, ¹⁹ Kavirahasya (or Kavivimarsa), which is now not traceable.

~~(contd. on the following page.)~~

19. The Kāvyaṇimānsā is a handbook for poets and
(contd. on the following page)

(6) Bhuvana-koṣa:

At the end of the 17th chapter of the Kāvyaśiṃśā 20.
Rājasekhara refers to this work. It deals with geography.

(7) Hara-vilāsa:

It is referred to by Hemacandra as an example of a ^{poem} 21.
bearing the name of its author

(Contd. from the previous page)

19. ~~The Kāvyaśiṃśā is a handbook for poets and is written~~
in eighteen chapters, such as, (i) sāstrasaṃgraha, treating
of the origin of alankāra-sāstra; (ii) sāstra-nirdeśa,
distinguishing between sāstra and kāvya; (iii) kāvya-
puruṣotpatti, a mythical account of a Kāvya-puruṣa,
whose body is word and its sense and the various
languages, its limbs, the rasa its self or ātman, and
so on; the Kāvya-puruṣa is married to sādhyā-vidyāvadhū;
(iv) pada-vākyaviveka dealing with śakti, pratibhā
vyutpatti or erudition, samādhi (concentration) and
abhyāsa (practice) as constitutive of the efficient
art of writing poetry; (v) Kāvya-pāka-kalpa dealing with
vyutpatti or ^{erudition}, sāstra-kavi, kāvya-kavi and
ubhaya-kavi; (vi) padavākya-viveka dealing with the
nature of śabda and vākya; (vii) pāṭha-pratiṣṭhā
dealing with the proper language and style to be ~~for~~
followed and the ^{best} ~~cert~~ of intonation that is found in
(contd. on the following page)

Rājasekhara quotes thrice the opinion of his wife, Avantisundarī, in the Kāvya²²mīmāṃsā. We may conclude that she had composed some work on rhetorics.

(Contd. from the previous page)

different parts of India; (viii) kāvyārthanaya dealing with sources of the materials of literature; (ix) artha-vyāpti dealing with the indispensable element of kāvya as rasa; (x) kavi-caryyā dealing with the discipline through which a poet must ^{undergo} ~~undergo~~ and the external ^{which} ~~in which~~ environment in ^{which} ~~which~~ the poet should live; (xi-xiii) the extent to ^{which} ~~which~~ a poet can appropriate and utilise his predecessors' words and thoughts; xiv-^{xvi}~~xv~~ - dealing with conventions of ^{poetry} ~~poetry~~ and fauna and flora of India; xvii dealing with Geography of India together with economic and other products and the complexion of the different races of India; xviii deals with the seasons, the winds, birds, etc.

20. See Kāvya²²mīmāṃsā (Gaskwad's Oriental Series, 1924), Ch. XVII, p. 98.

21. cf. Svatantrāṅkitā yathā Rājasekharasya Haravilāse, Kāvya²²anuvāsanavivēka, p. 335.

22. Kāvya²²mīmāṃsā, pp. 20, 46.

Our period is not inconsiderable for the development of legal literature. Quite a galaxy of commentators flourished in this period. Asahāya seems to be an outstanding writer of our period. Dr. ^{jolly} in his edition of the ²³ Nārada-smṛti has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. The exact relation of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's labours to the original bhāṣya cannot be accurately gauged from the opening words 'finding that the Nārada-bhāṣya composed by Asahāya was spoilt (Bhraṣṭa) by bad scribes, kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'.

The Hāratalā of Aniruddha, who was the guru of king Vallālasena of Bengal, the author of ²⁴ Ābṛūtasāgara (about 1168 A.D.), tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the ²⁵ Gautamadharmasūtra.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a ²⁶ commentary on the Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvatīvilāsa

23. See Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

24. Hist. of Bengal, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Vol. I, p. 217

25. Hāratalā (Bibliotheca Indica series, p. 97.
Calcutta.

26. Pratāparudradeva: Sarasvatīvilāsa (Mysore ed.),
p. 348.

says that partition of dharma was approved of by smṛtikāras like Manu, Yājñavalkya, by their commentators, viz., Asahāya, Medhātithi, Viṇṇāśvara and Aparārka and by writers of nibandhas, viz., the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhātithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara²⁷ quotes with reference to Manu the words of Asahāya thereon. In the Mitākṣarā²⁸ the opinion of Asahāya and Medhātithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhārucci. This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya's commentary on Manu which ^{contains} ~~contains~~ a rule similar to Yājñavalkyasmṛti, while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share.

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhāṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛti and on Nārada. As Viṣṇurūpa²⁹ and Medhātithi both name Asahāya, his latest limit is about 750 A.D. How much earlier he

27 Candesvara: Vivādaratnākara (Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.) p.583.

28. Viṇṇāśvara: Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, II, 124.

29. For the dates of Viṣṇurūpa and Medhātithi, see p. 260. ^{276, 277.}

flourished it is difficult to say. In the commentary on Nārada there is a story from Pāṭaliputra about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great ^{great-}grandsons. It has been argued that, as Pāṭaliputra was a deserted city in the middle of the seventh century and as the reference shows that Pāṭaliputra was a living and flourishing city, Asahāya must have lived long before the seventh century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the bhāṣya is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of Pāṭaliputra. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story.

Some of the views attributed to Asahāya may be quoted here. The definition of dāya (heritage) given by the Mitākṣarā was identical with Asahāya's. Asahāya explained the dictum of Uśanas that fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa. He held that as regards succession to the Śulka

30. Calcutta Law Journal, Vol. XVII, p. 59.

31. Asahāyavi^ñśānanyogiprabhṛtīnām tu yatsvāmisaṁbhādhādeva nimitatānanyasya svam bhavati tad dāyasābdenocyate iti.

Brasvativilāsa, ed. Rev. Thomas Foulkes, para 19.

32. Ibid., para 195

of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, ³³ though the major portion would go to the full brothers.

According to him, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher's son, then to the teacher's widow, the pupil, pupil's son, pupil's widow ³⁴ (one after another) and then to the fellow-student.

Bhartryajña^{n̄}

Another commentator was Bhartryajña^{n̄}. Medhātithi in his bhāṣya on Manu quotes Bhartryajña^{n̄}. He says that 'other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartryajña^{n̄} and they should be understood from his work'. ³⁴ Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtra-dhvanitārtha-kārikā ³⁵ refers to the views of Bhartryajña that one who had ^{committed} ~~committed~~ to memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the adhikāra) of ^econsecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Anata's ^{n̄}bhāṣya it appears that Bhartryajña^{n̄} composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra ^{which} ~~which~~ had been lost (utsanna) in the former's day. From Gadādhara's comments on the Nāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra it appears that Bhartryajña^{n̄}

33. Ibid, para 314.

34. Ibid, para 608

35. Medhātithi on Manu, 8, 3.

36. See Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

commented on Pāraskara. The Nityācārapradīpa³⁷ after quoting Gautamadharmasūtra cites the comment of Bhartr̥yajña on the word^{word} tac-ohesana occurring in that sūtra. It seems that Bhartr̥yajña like Asahāya was a commentator of the Gautamadharmasūtra.

Since Bhartr̥yajña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya, it follows that Bhartr̥yajña must have flourished before 800 A.D., and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

Viśvarūpa

He wrote a commentary, called Bālakrīḍā^ā, on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. The Mitākṣarā states in the^{introductory} introductory verses that dicta of Yājñavalkyasmṛti were expanded by the voluminous or ample (vikāṭa) explanations of Viśvarūpa. The printed commentary of Viśvarūpa on the Vyavahāra section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet vikāṭa³⁸ applied to it by the Mitākṣarā. But the comment of Viśvarūpa on the ācāra and prāyascitta sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the Mitākṣarā. The style of

37. Atra taccheṣaṇa iti tasyaiva nityācāra-karmaṇaḥ
śoṇeti Bhartr̥yajñaḥ. Nityācārapradīpa (Bibliotheca
Indica series), p. 12.
Calcutta.

38. The commentary of Viśvarūpa on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti
has been published in two parts by M.N.T. Ganapati Shastri
(contd. on the following page)

Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas and Vājasaneyins, the Kāthaka and very often supports his position by quotations from the R̥gveda, the Brāhmaṇas and from the Upaniṣads. He frequently quotes the Gr̥hyasūtras of Pāraskara and less frequently ^{those} ~~quotes~~ those of Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana. He cites a host of smṛtikāras. Most of the quotations from Br̥haspati are in prose, only a few being in verse. It appears therefore that Viśvarūpa either knew a work of Br̥haspati in prose on arthaśāstra in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of Br̥haspati ^{and} ~~and~~ a versified smṛti of Br̥haspati, both of ^{which} ~~which~~ he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse from Viśālākṣa, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by Kauṭilya. He refers to the arthaśāstra of Uśanas along with that of Br̥haspati. His work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrvaśāstra.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika and is mentioned by the Mitākṣarā as an authoritative commentator, it follows that he flourished between 750 A.D. and 1000 A.D. ³⁹

(Continued from the previous page)

Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

39. F.V. Kane: Hist. of Dharmasāstra, Vol. I, p. 261.

MEDHĀTITHI

40

Medhātithi, who lived sometime in the ninth century A.D., is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (bhāṣya) on the Manusmṛti. He quotes from or names numerous smṛti writers, such as Gantana, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Parāśara, Brhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Brhaspati as a writer on 'vārtā' and to Brhaspati and Uśanas as writers on politics and government. He refers to Cāṇakya as a writer on dandanīti.

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms vidhi and arthavāda. He quotes Jaimini's sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step.

SECTION B.

ART

A development of great beauty in the art of temple building expressed itself in parts of the Pratihāra empire in the last centuries of the first millennium. Remnants of a Brahmanical

temple are found in the castle of Māṇḍavyapura (Mander). The temple consists of a sanctum perched on the summit of three high terraces which diminish in size towards the top and are ascended by flights of stairs on the east, north and south sides. The sanctum, which is the ^{earliest} ~~earliest~~ part of the building, was perhaps erected in the 7th or 8th century A.D., and was restored and enlarged during the 9th or 10th century A.D. It is a ⁴¹ small chamber, 19' square on the outside and 9' 8" on the inside. The walls which are still standing to a height of some 8 feet measure 4' 8" in thickness, the core being of rough rubble, with both faces well finished. The blocks are held together by iron clamps only, ^{without} ~~with~~ cement or mortar of any kind. On the outside, the walls are encircled with bold mouldings and relieved on the north, west and south faces by projections, 9' 4" broad and some 10" deep. The mouldings are identical on every side. Of the five courses which make up the present height of the walls the two lowest consist of well-dressed blocks without any carving. Above them is a bold torus,

⁴¹. Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., 1909-10, p. 95.

which along the face of the projections, is replaced by a dentil-like row of plaques. The latter are adorned with foliage and other devices executed with considerable skill and resembling in style the sculptures on the Dhamekh Tower at Sarnath. The course above is ornamented with shallow niches with kirtimukhas or richly plumaged birds between. For the most part the niches are empty, but those on the north side contain either human heads or rosettes. The uppermost course is composed of more massive blocks, with triangular decorations near its base and a torus moulding at the top. The carving on this course is much inferior to that in the lower courses. Perhaps the sanctum was originally surmounted by a *sikhara* or spire. Its floor was paved with ^{stone} ~~stone~~ slabs, and on it there stood five pedestals of 'Siva-lingas', one in each of the corners and one in the centre. A sixth pedestal, measuring 2' x 1" long by 10 1/2" broad and 4 1/2" high and intended for an image, was built against the middle of the west wall.

In the 9th or 10th ^{century} ~~Century~~ A.D. there appears to have been added to the shrine an ante-chamber or ⁴²mandapa, of which the principal remains are six broken columns found lying among the debris in front of the shrine or on the lower

terraces. The columns are elaborately decorated with bands of musicians, Kirtimukhas, atlantes, floral designs and other motifs. Besides these columns several relieves were discovered amid the same debris, which are assignable to the same period and which were probably used to decorate the walls of the mandapa. One of these illustrates the fifth or Vāmana avatāra of Viṣṇu. In the proper left lower corner stands Viṣṇu in the form of a corpulent dwarf, with an umbrella over his head, while before him is the demon, pouring water on his right-hand, as a token of his gift of three paces of land. Then the dwarf is seen in his virāt form, his left-leg raised high, as he spans the three regions with his two mighty steps, while the demon clings to his right-leg, in a vain endeavour to restrain him.

About half a mile to the east of Māṇḍavyapura are two relieves cut in the rock. One of them, approximately 8½' long and 1½' high, contains a row of nine figures. The four-armed corpulent figure at the proper right ^{end} is that of Gaṇeśa, the remaining eight representing the eight divine mothers (aṣṭa-mātaraḥ) of the Brahmanical cult. Third from the proper right is Vaiṣṇavī, the female energy of Viṣṇu. She has ~~an~~ four arms, and in the lower left one holds

a conch. Next to her comes Mahesvari with a bull standing behind her—the vehicle of her male counterpart, Śiva. Then follows a figure of Brāhmī, accompanied by a goose. The second figure from the proper left is Aindri, with the elephant Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra, at her right side; and by her side is Cāmundā sitting on a human corpse and wearing a garland of human skulls. The remaining three figures are Kumārī, Vārāṣhī and Nārasiṃhī, but, their attributes being wanting, they cannot be individually identified. The other relief is cut in the rock close by. It consists of a rectangular niche about 2½' high and 2' wide, with an elaborate ornamental border all around, in which is four-armed figure ⁴³ sitting cross-legged in the manner of Sūrya, the Sun-god. All the four hands, however, are broken, and it is not ^{possible} ~~readable~~ to identify the figure with certainty. The style of the carving indicates the 7th ⁴⁴ or 8th century as the date of the relief.

At Onia, which is thirty-two miles north-west of Jodhpur, there are sixteen Brahmanical and Jaina temples. These relics of its past greatness occupy two sites, one consisting of a group of eleven temples of an early phase on the outskirts of the modern village, while the remainder,

43. Ibid, p. 9h.

44. Ibid.

rather later, are on a hill to the east of it. The temples forming the earlier group appear to have been built in the eighth and ninth centuries,⁴⁵ and although comparatively small structures, their size is compensated for by the elegance of their architecture and its applied art. What is also striking in these temples is the variety in their design, no two are alike, one and all show an individuality of conception and an originality of composition.

Three early temples of the series at Osia, probably built in the eighth century,⁴⁶ and dedicated to Harihara, are small but particularly pleasing in their design and rich in their embellishment.⁴⁷ Two are of the pañcayatana class, so that with their four additional shrines they form very attractive compositions. They are raised up on plinths and their śikharas are refined in their contours.

In Nos. 2 and 3 of this Harihara trio, the mandapa is an open pillared hall, with the lower parts of the pillars supporting the sloping seat-back or āsana and every part is tastefully carved. This plastic decoration is well shown in the entrance to the sanctum of temple No. 2 and also in the

45. D.R. Bhandarkar, The temples of Osia, Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., 1908-9.

46. Ibid.

47. Temple ^{consisting} consisting of five shrines in a group,

pillars of ~~one~~ of the shrines attached to No. 1. There is a naivete and freshness in this carving, although it is profusely applied.

A temple of equal elegance, although more restrained in its treatment, and probably a little later in date,⁴⁸ is that dedicated to the ^{Sun} ~~gaa~~-god Sūrya, and in some respects the most graceful of the entire group. Much of its effect has been obtained by the original design of ~~the~~^{its} frontage, to which two tall fluted pillars have been added, giving this aspect almost a classical appearance. This temple is ^{also} ~~also~~ of the pañcayatana type, its four subsidiary shrines being connected by a cloister (sal), which not only provided shelter for visiting devotees, but also served the purpose of an enclosure wall. In its proportions and style this building displays no little dignity, while both in the shape of its āikhara, and in the manner of its pillar ornamentation, it is admirable.

The most complete example of the Osia group is a Jaina temple dedicated[^] to Mahāvīra, as it consists of a sanctum, a closed hall, and an open porch, immediately in front of which is an ornate torana or gateway. It appears to have been first built at the end of the eighth century,

⁴⁸. Percy Brown: Indian Architecture, p. 139

and then repaired and added to in the tenth century, so that it is a record of development over two periods. This is ^{shown} ~~shown~~ by the changes in style of the building throughout, but particularly in the character of the pillars, in which it is possible to compare those of the mandapa belonging to the original structure with the later examples in the second porch; this latter apartment or nal mandapa is so called because it was erected subsequently over the nal, or staircase, leading into the interior of the building. To add to the history of this temple, the torana or entrance archway appears to be even a still ⁵⁰ later addition, probably made in the eleventh century. In this one building alone, therefore, it is ^{possible} ~~possible~~ to follow the course of the style over a period of several centuries. One of its outstanding features are the pillars of the porch, as they represent the post-Gupta order in its ripest state.

No account of the temples of the Osia group would be complete without a reference to the door-ways, particularly those which form the entrance to the shrine chamber. In most of the temple architecture, these are the features on which the decorator concentrated all his knowledge and ^k ~~sill~~ ^{sill}, thus

49. D.R. Bhandarkar: The Temples of Osia, Arch.Surv.Ind.

Rep., 1908-9.

50. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 140.

corresponding in their wealth of story to the doorways of a Gothic cathedral in the West. The fact that the shrine entrance led immediately into the divine presence seems to ^{have} ~~have~~ given wings to the artist's imagination, ^{so} ~~so~~ that here we find portrayed, by symbol and image, whole volumes of folk lore and mythology for those who can see but cannot read. On the lintel are represented the nine planets or navagraha, while ^{below} ~~below~~ are ornamental niches each enshrining some well-known incident. Simulating a key stone is the dedicatory block, often depicting a figure or emblem associated with the divinity within the cella, while in panels down the jambs are figure-subjects of lively interest. Decorative mouldings outline the doorway, among which is a motif of double spirals continuing right round the opening delineating the intertwined coils of the snake Śeṣa, the king of the Nāgas or serpent race, ⁵¹ signifying an endless destiny or eternity. The river goddesses of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā figure at the base of the jamb, to which position they were relegated after the Gupta era; one of the conventions of that period was to include these deities at the upper angle of the doorway, the sixth century marking the date of this ^{change} ~~change~~. ^{52.}

At Gwalior the Caturbhuja or Viṣṇu temple bears two

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

inscriptions which show that it was built in 875 A.D. It is only 12 ft. square, with a portico in front 10 ft. by 9 ft., supported on two advanced pillars. The roof is a truncated pyramid divided into small steps, resembling that on the Dhammar rock-temple,⁵³ and in details like the Teli Mandir.⁵⁴ It is crowned with a small modern dome.

One of the most refined and finished manifestations of Indian architecture of the period under review is to be found in a group of temples at Khajuraho in Vindhya Pradesh. These temples were built during the rule of the Candellas who were the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kānyakubja.⁵⁵ No doubt the Candellas extended their patronage to the temples of Khajuraho, but their grouping appears to have been due not so much to dynastic encouragement, as to a combined sacerdotal impulse of a marked tolerant and comprehensive nature, as they represent different beliefs, several of them being Śivaite, others Vaiṣṇavite, and some Jain. They were all erected within the relatively narrow interval of a hundred years, from about A.D. 950 to 1050.⁵⁶

The Khajuraho temples have a definitely individual architectural character,^t different from that in any other

53. Ibid, pp. 140-41.

54. Ibid, p. 156

55. See ante, pp. 68, 98, 72, 108.

56. Percy Brown: Indian Architecture, p. 133.

part of the country. In the first place instead of being contained within the customary enclosure wall, each stands on a high and solid masonry terrace, the intention being no doubt to detach itself in this manner from its temporal environment. On the broad platform thus produced, each temple has been erected, not as a number of conjoined buildings, but as one unified structure, all its parts so incorporated as to form a compact architectural synthesis. None of them is of any great size, the largest is only slightly over a hundred feet in length, so that they are by no means imposing edifices, but they rely for their appearance on their elegant proportions, graceful contours, and rich surface treatment. The method by which such admirable results were attained ~~has~~ becomes evident on analysis, as those who built them were obviously experienced in the practical requirements of the structure, and accordingly began with the plan. On the ground this took the general shape of a Latin cross with its long axis from ~~east~~ ^{east} to west, the sole entrance being on the east, at the foot of the cross. This shape was divided into three main compartments, namely the cella or garbhagrha, an ^{assembly} hall or mandapa, and an entrance portico or ardhamandapa. Supplementing these are the antarāla or vestibule to the cella, and, in the more developed examples, the transepts or mahā-mandapa, together with a processional passage around the cella.

The mass, or volume ^{comprising} ~~comprising~~ the Khajuraho temple-type moves in an upward direction, its trend is towards height, in much the same way as an aspiring quality is a characteristic of the Gothic church. Raised up on its lofty terrace, the building resolves itself into three main parts, consisting of an emphatically high basement story, above which are the walls and openings of the interior compartments, while over all is a grouping of roofs culminating in the tall and graceful *sikhara*. To accentuate the soaring impulse there are a number of pronounced vertical projections, which not only lead the eye upwards, but produce a variety of vertically inclined and well-disposed passages of light and shade. The architectural treatment of these three main elements forming the elevational aspect of the structure shows consummate skill. A rich and diverse series of mouldings lightens the substantial proportions of the plinth, the ^{spreading} ~~spreading~~ base of which seems to grip firmly the pavement of the terrace, like the roots of a symmetrical and well-grown tree. The intermediate portion of the ^{building} ~~building~~ above this, ^{comprising} ~~comprising~~ the central feature of the scheme and enclosing the halls of the interior is handled in an equally artistic manner. Where the remaining surfaces of +

the structure are solids, here the builder has introduced his voids, consisting of a horizontal range of window openings, thus, bringing in light and air, and at the same time \wedge throwing a vivid band of intense shadow athwart the whole composition.

There is, however, another outstanding feature on this central zone of the temple exterior, a decorative motif and one which fills in the wall spaces between the openings mentioned above. This takes the form of two, and sometimes three, \wedge parallel friezes, conjoined and following the alternate projections and recesses of the walls and carried round the entire building. Peopled with groups of statuary moulded in high relief, and in dimensions rather less than half life size, these friezes present a moving pageant and never-ending procession of lifelike forms, shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest. On one temple alone, that of the Kandariyā Mahādeo, the figures thus depicted are six hundred and fifty in number, and each building accommodates a similar community in proportion to its size. Some of the figures are ideal human beings, while others are divine personages, but all are in elegant attitudes and some are ^{poised} ~~posed~~ with a Hellenic grace recalling the rhythmic forms on a classic vase. Unlike the \wedge sombre saints who look down from Gothic niches, these

on the walls of the Khajuraho temples ^{are} ~~are~~ of a warm and ^{glad some} ~~glad some~~ nature, living in a happy golden age, when time was one long sequence of pleasurable experiences. With such an animated throng ever present on these structures, the architecture pulsates with a human vitality not ordinarily found in the ^{building} ~~building~~ art.

Each of the main compartments of the temples was distinguished by a separate roof, the smallest and lowest being the portico, next in height ^{came} the central hall, the two sweeping up in line of mass to the tall shape of the tower or *sikhara*, surmounting the whole. The Khajuraho roofs are domical in contour. The external appearance of these temples owes not a little of its grace to the grouping of these roofs and their centripetal movement towards the spire, suggestive of the rising peaks of a mountain range converging on to the highest pinnacle. This effect, however, has not been obtained without an occasional overcrowding of its parts, as for instance where the roof of the *mandapa* impinges on the *sikhara*, but this defect is of minor consequence ~~where~~ where all is so well-ordered and coherent.

As regards *sikharas*, the examples at Khajuraho are the most refined and elegant of their kind. The graceful shape of the *sikharas* has been effected in two ways, on the one hand by the subtle lineaments of the main curves, ^{and} ~~and~~ on the other by the rhythmic disposal of the subsidiary members

attached to them. The contours of the *śikharas* are tent and tenuous, the tempo of the lines is accelerated as they mount up in a more decided incline. But the principal refinement is obtained by the design and distribution of the miniature turrets or *urūringas*, which it was the practice to superimpose on the sides to break up the mass. The manner in which the craftsmen at Khajuraho played, and even juggled with these elements in the formation of the *śikhara* is proof of a long apprenticeship to this kind of work. In the simpler examples the builders began by attaching a fairly large flattened half-spire against the lower portion of each side of the central structure, the quoins of which ^{are} ~~were~~ continued down until stopped by another miniature turret or *urūringa* at the junction of the tower with the substructure. With this as a basis, in the larger examples the scheme was elaborated by means of each of these attachments being duplicated and even triplicated about the lower part of the structure, as are turrets around a Gothic steeple. It will be readily seen that such a system resulted in more melodic outlines to the volume, the fluency thus achieved adding fresh beauty to its strength.

Turning now to the interiors of the Khajuraho temples it will be at once realized that these were designed strictly according to the requirements of the ritual, combined with

the necessity for a certain economy of space. There is only one entrance, that on the east, and this is approached by a ^{very} singularly tall flight of steps rising steeply owing to the excessive height of the plinth, but increasing its dignity. The doorway, like ~~some~~ ^{some} of the other openings in the interior, has its lintel festooned with a cusped archway or foliated form of strut, so finely fashioned as to appear more like ivory carving, or even a hanging drapery than chiselled stone. Through this doorway one enters a passage or porch, which expands into a rectangular portico or ardhamaṇḍapa, the whole with open sides, the ceiling carried on pillars, and sloping seat-backs or āsanas as dwarf walls. Opening out of this portico is the main hall or maṇḍapa, a moderately large square compartment with four pillars in the centre supporting the beams of the roof. On each side of this hall extending laterally, are the transepts or mahā-maṇḍapas connecting with the balcony windows of the exterior. The furthest side of the main hall communicates with the vestibule or antarāla, a shallow passage with a large moonstone step (candraśīlā) leading up to the ornate doorway of the cella, ^{an} ~~an~~ opening which repeats in its festooned lintel the design of the main entrance.

The halls of the Khajuraho temples are richly decorated with sculpture. As the principal compartment is the maṇḍapa this exhibits several notable features, functional

and ornamental. The average size of the mandapas at Khajuraho is only 25 feet square, no great space to cover with a roof, but the weight of the domical mass of masonry above, and the relatively elementary structural system employed, made it difficult to achieve in a single span. The method adopted of oversailing courses could only be self-supporting within certain limits, ^{so} that a process of under-pinning became necessary. This took the simplest and most natural form of four pillars, one at each corner, with four beams in the shape of a square framework under the ceiling, 'on the same principle by which he would prop up his wooden hut, so the Indian mason supported the main roof of his temple'. Yet this plan is structurally sound, and he proceeded to make it artistically beautiful, for the manner in which sculpture was applied over its surfaces is superb. Those portions specially selected for treatment were the capitals of the pillars, the architrave, and the ceiling itself. The capitals are structurally of the bracket order, but so overlaid with ornament and figure-subjects that this is obscured. Above and below are the contorted forms of grotesque dwarfs and they are accompanied by rampant gryphons at the angles. But in the spaces between these strange and unearthly beings, as a foil to their

forbidding appearance, are inserted female figures of enchanting grace and loveliness, either in the act of dancing or posed in some flexuous attitude, each a finished statuette in itself carved out of a separate slab of stone and mortised into sockets prepared for its reception.

The substantial architraves above these capitals are also highly decorated with figure compositions of an animated nature, but it is in the design and execution of the ceilings which they support that the sculptor has exercised the greatest ingenuity and artistic skill. In this ceiling treatment of the Khajuraho temples the shallow dome over the central compartment or mandapa was that on which the finest work was produced, although even the porches and outlying chambers were often equally elaborated. The design selected was usually a geometrical one, an arrangement of intersecting circles, which on plan form a combination of cusps or ^{quatrefoils}, but in section are a series of semi-spherical recesses, or shell-shapes, with a long richly-carved pendant dropping from the centre of each. In a typical example of one of these ceilings the entire surface is a swirling pattern of circles and semi-circles recalling stones thrown into a pool. "It is a method not unlike stalactite vaulting, but composed almost entirely of spherical instead of octagonal elements, and there are also observable ^{some} ~~some~~ of the principles employed in Gothic

fan vaulting, although worked out to a much smaller scale. Each stone of these ceilings was carved separately, according to a stencilled pattern, and the whole composition fitted together temporarily on the ground. Then, when all the parts were complete, and the jointing perfected, its components were hoisted up on to the roof and dropped into position one by one so that they interlocked, each course supporting ^{that} that above it. The complex nature of the designs, the patience and skill required to carve, fit, and finally assemble each piece in its correct position, while in the end the entire work is invisible on account of the darkness of the compartment it covers, is an illustration of one of these insoluble problems occasionally found in the building art of the country.⁵⁸

The ^{main} ~~re-~~in group of temples at Khajuraho, consisting of at least a dozen buildings, is that to the north-west of the site, where they are arranged in two lines, with both Vaishnavite and Sivaites shrines standing side by side. Each of these two lines of structures consists of one large temple, with others slightly smaller alongside, and, for the purposes of study, each has been given a serial number.⁵⁹ The largest of the entire series is the Siva temple of Kanderiyā Mahādeo (No. 3), the first of the most westerly line, and its dimensions

58. Ibid.

59. Cunningham: Arch. Surv. ^{Rep.} of India, Vol. II, 1871.

There are two other temples at Khajuraho planned on the same principle as the Kandariyā, with double transepts, but ^{they} ~~the~~ are both one-sixth less in size. These are the Śiva temple of Viśvanātha (No. 7), and the Viṣṇu temple of Caturabhuja (No. 10), the former measuring on the ground 87 feet by 46 feet, and the latter 85 feet by 44 feet. ^{Both} ~~Both~~ appear to have had small supplementary shrines at each corner of their platforms, so that they are examples of the pañcayatana, or five shrined type of temple. On the Viśvanātha temple there is an inscription which records that it was built about 1000 A.D. Two other temples of a fair size are the Viṣṇu temple of ~~Devī Jagadāmbā~~ ^{Devī Jagadāmbā} (No. 5) measuring 77 feet by 45 feet, and that of Chatra-ko-patr (No. 6) dedicated to Sūrya, the Sun-god, measuring 87 feet by 58 feet, both of which have only one pair of transepts, and are on plan and in elevation very elegantly proportioned. The Devī Jagadāmbā is a good example of the simpler type of temple-design, as it has only four ^{compartments,} ~~compartments,~~ the ardha-mandapa or portico consisting of only one chamber, instead, of two, and there is no processional passage round the cella.

The Jaina temples grouped together on the south-east of the site are some six in number, in varying states of preservation, and as a whole their architectural character

differs but little from the Brahmanical examples. Their only divergence from this type is in the almost complete elimination of any voids in their elevation, or anything resembling the window openings which are such pronounced features in the temples of the other groups. The result is that the absence of these striking elements causes the external appearance of the Jaina temples to be somewhat monotonous, a condition which the sculptor has tried his best to relieve by elaborating the parallel friezes of statuary. These rows of figures, having now no architectural interruptions, dominate the entire scheme being continuous right round the structure, with portions projected like buttresses at intervals in an attempt at variety. These projections are carved into the shape of pillared niches enshrining images of ^{special} sanctity, with the occasional introduction of a kind of miniature balcony having sloping balustrades behind which is a group of small figures, a conceit more fanciful than architectural. The most complete example of the Jaina group is the temple of Jinanātha (No. 25), an oblong building measuring externally 60 feet long and 30 feet in breadth, with a projected portion at each end, that on the east forming the entrance porch. One oblong hall also forms the interior, within which are two compartments, ^{comprising} ~~comprising~~ a pillared portico in front, and an enclosed cella

beyond, leaving a wide processional passage all around the entire hall. Except that it is laid out in this manner to suit the requirements of the Jaina ritual, the architectural treatment of this temple follows much the same principles as the Hindu examples.

There is one ruined shrine at Khajuraho, standing a little apart from the Jaina group, but evidently belonging to the creed, which has attracted considerable attention on account of what may be described as the Attic beauty of its constituent parts. A building in this connection, like the trunk of a mutilated figure, sometimes acquires undue merit for the ^{sole} ~~sole~~ reason that it is a fragment, the remains of something entirely great, but there is little doubt that the Ghantai temple when complete was a gem of its kind, evidently the ^{handiwork} of a group of the most ^{accomplished} ~~accomplished~~ craftsmen of the time. It consists now of merely a cluster of some twelve pillars each over 14 feet high, standing on a moulded plinth 45 feet by 25 feet, and supporting a flat roof, the whole originally ^{having} ~~having~~ been enclosed by walls. What is left bears some slight resemblance to the portico and collar in the Jin-mātha temple on the same site, but the brackets on the pillar shafts, the flat roof, and its detached position seem to suggest that it may have served some ^{specific} ~~specific~~ purpose in the Jaina ceremonial. In its dismantled condition

one can only admire the elegance of its pillars and the richness of the carved doorway. Some of the pillars are most gracefully proportioned, tall slender shafts, octagonal ^{below} ~~below~~ and ^{circular} ~~circular~~ above, clasped around at intervals with girdles of delicate carving, and surmounted by an appropriate bracket capital.

South of this Jaina group, near the Kurar Nālā, are two Brahmanical temples, one of which called the Kunwar Math (No. 30) and dedicated to Śiva, is as fine as any of the Brahmanical examples on this site. It is 66 feet long by 33 feet broad externally and is composed of the usual five ^{compartments,} ~~compartments,~~ the whole being designed and decorated in the traditional Khajuraho style.

No remains of private dwellings now exist. The castle of Māṇḍavyapura has escaped destruction. Its walls, though badly damaged and partly buried ^{beneath} ~~beneath~~ their own debris, still rise to a considerable height on the north and west sides. They were constructed of massive blocks of stone, their width averaging ^{some} ~~some~~ 24 or 25 feet, and were further strengthened and protected by bastions. Along the curtain of the walls these bastions are either square or rectangular in plan; but the one at the north^h-west angle is ~~square~~ circular and it is probable that those at the other three corners were of the same form. The west wall is pierced, near its ~~south~~ southern extremity, by an opening, of which only the stone

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 lintel is now visible. This was regarded by Mr. Garrick as a gateway; but it is so low that it can hardly have been anything but a drain, and in support of this view it may be remarked that a few yards to the west of the opening a channel is still to be seen, which carried off the drainage of the castle. The walls of the castle were perhaps built by the sons of Haricandra, for we are told in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka that they captured ~~the~~ ⁶¹ Māṇḍavyapura and erected a high rampart.

The building activity of the period was by no means confined to temples and private dwellings. Alberuni tells us that "in every place to which ^{some particular} ~~some~~ holiness is ascribed, the Hindus ^{construct} ~~construct~~ ponds intended for the ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see ^{wonder at them, and are unable to describe them,} them, ^{much} less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong ^{cramp} ~~cramp~~-irons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges; and these terraces run all around the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature. On the surface of the stones between two terraces they construct staircases rising like pinnacles. Thus the first steps or terraces are like roads (leading round the pond),

60. Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

61. See ante, p. 23, 16.

and the pinnacles are steps (leading up and down). If ever so many people descend to the pond whilst others ascend, they do not meet each other, and the road is never blocked up, because there are so many terraces, and the ascending person can always turn aside to another terrace than that on which the descending people go".⁶²

Though positive data are lacking, literary evidences prove the existence of the art of painting during the period under consideration. Rājasekhara refers to painters and a picture-hall.⁶³ In the Viddhasālabbhañjikā the buffoon obviously refers to painting when he says, "Just let your eyes rest upon the works on the pictured walls of the inner chamber of beauteous crystal. Now here the king is portrayed, intent on dancing with the queen. Here is Nāgavallī, the bearer of the betel-box. Here is Prabhañjanikā, who waves the chowry. Here is the dwarf, Nagarakanthaka, and this is Tapparakarna, the stable-monkey".⁶⁴ He further tells us that

62. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 144-45.

63. Rājasekhara: Kāvyaśāstramānsā (ed. C. D. Dalal & R. A. Sastry^{K. L.}) p. 55.

64. Tadehi citrasālīkāmādhitiṣṭhāvah,
Rājasekhara: Viddhasālabbhañjikā (ed. B. R. Arte), p. 119.

65. Ida dīva lali afaliha gabbhabhavanabhitti oitta
sanththesu kammesu nivesi adu diṭṭhi/esa dāva devo
devio samam pāsa abhinivesi ālibhido/esa vi tambola
karandavāhinī Nāgavallī/esa ommaraggāhinī Prabhañjanī/
(contd. on the following page -

"the queen is very fond of repeatedly dressing
 Mrgāṅkavarman, who has come as a hostage and is her own
 maternal uncle's son, in woman's clothes. She was seen,
 I fancy, and painted in the picture by artists who do not
 know the truth". The king says, "Her garments' guise proves
 that she is still unwed, for here is she ^{portrayed} ~~portrayed~~ with bedice
 blue. What wonderful beauty dwells in the artist. In sooth
 this picture is her other self. I know it perfectly that it
 is a maiden's work who has delineated all with one soft touch".

(Contd. from the previous page).

eso a Naarakanda o nām vāmaṇao/eso una maṇḍurāṇakkado

Ṭapparakannōṇam. Ibid, p. 28.

66. Bodhu kodūhalēṇa devī uccahamagadam nīamādulajādakam
 mi aṅkavarmanam vāraṇvāreṇa viraidamahilāvesam dhārodi/
 tam ca daṭṭhūṇa amuṇiaparamaththehim citta arehim
 savve a citte ālihīdatti takkenī. Ibid, p. 30.

67. Kanyeti sūcayati veṣa viśeṣa eva
 yannīla colakavatī likhitātra citre. Ibid, p. 31.

68. Aho vapuḥ śrīrlikhiturjaṇasya
 Svākārasamvādi yaṭatra citram/
 Idam ca paurandhramavaimi karma
 Rekhaṇi veśotra yadekadhārah// Ibid;

See also, stambhe śālabhañjikam vilokya --- Ibid, p. 33;

Idovi devī Maṇavadi āśeṣa parivārā ālihida,

Ibid, p. 32.

Rājasekhara also refers to music and dance. The Dhruva
sings for which Nāṭyaśāstra devotes one entire chapter have
been referred to in the Bālabhārata and the Karpūramañjarī.

69. Kim gemaṭṭavihinā kimu vārunī

Dhruvona kim agurumā kimu kukumona

Mitṭhattane mahilāmmi na kim vi annam

Ruccia atthi sarisam paṇamānusassa/14/

Rājasekhara: Karpūramañjarī (ed. Durga Prasad and Kashi
Kashi Nath Pandurang Parab), p. 80; see also Kāvyaṁimānsā (ed.
C.D. Dalal and R.A.K. Śāstri), pp. 54-55.

70. Paribbhamantīa vicittabandham imāi dosolaha nacca nio/

Khelanti tālāṇugadappadāo tuhaṅgaṇe dīśai daṇḍarāso/10/

Samānsasīsa samabāhmatthā rehāvisuddhā aparā a denti/

Antīhim dohim laṭṭālabandham parapparam sāhimuhā

~~Karpūramañjarī, p. 97.~~

Rājasekhara: Karpūramañjarī (ed. D. Durga Prasad and K.P. Parab), p. 97;
tataḥ param natanarttakagāyanaṇḍakavāgīvanakusīlava-

tālāvacarā anyapi tathāvidhāh// Rājasekhara:

Kāvyaṁimānsā, pp. 54-55, (ed. C. D. Dalal and R. A. K. Shastri).

71. XXXII,

72. Yadvālmiki Vyāsayoh pravesikī dhruvā gīyato.

Rājasekhara: Bālabhārata (ed. Durga Prasad and Kashi Nath

Pandurang Parab), p. 3.

Rājasekhara:

73. Karpūramañjarī, p. 80, (ed. Durga Prasad and K.P. Parab).

The latter also refers to various musical instruments⁷⁴ which were in use in the orchestra of the time.

74. Koubhallavasacañcalavosā venuvādanaparā avarāo/

Ibid., p. 98.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION.

In the middle of the sixth century A.D. the first Pratihāra power was established in Gurjaratrā. Soon after it became a potent factor in the history of south-western India. In the same century, the Pratihāras of Gurjaratrā were able to establish their feudatory dynasty in Bhrgukaccha as a check against the rising power of the Cālukyas. Though the growing power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was threatened by the campaigns of Prabhākaravardhana, the Pratihāras withstood the threat squarely and consolidated their power in the territories stretching from south-western Rajputana in the north up to present day Gujarat.

The ^{second} ~~second~~ step in the rise of the Pratihāra power is marked by the resistance offered by the Pratihāras to the Arab invaders of Sindh. Though they suffered some reverses in the beginning as claimed by the Arab sources, they were able to hold their own against the Arabs and checked their expansion into the interior of the country. Here they politically and militarily justified their title 'Pratihāra' by functioning as the gate-keepers of India against foreign invaders.

The third stage in the development of the Pratihāra power was reached, when a section of the Pratihāras of south-western Rajaputana branched off to Avanti or Mālava

and established a powerful dynasty there. This dynasty, no doubt, weakened the original Pratihāra dynasty in Rajputāna, but it was able to suppress permanently the Arab menace. The Pratihāras of Avantī managed to build up a kingdom more extensive than the original one in Rajputana and enjoyed greater prestige and influence in the political life of the country. But in doing so they came into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta (Malkhed). Malava, the tract of the country connecting the north and the south, was a bone of contention between these two powers. Though the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made a few successful military inroads, the Pratihāras recouped very soon and continued their expansion at the cost of the neighbouring states.

It was the time when the central authority of Kānyakubja collapsed after the meteoric career of Yaśovarman and there followed a scramble for gaining the suzerainty of the North amongst the great contemporary powers. The Pratihāras entered the race for suzerainty with the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. A tripartite war ensued with varying successes, but ultimately the Pratihāras came out with flying colours under the able leadership of Nāgabhaṭa II. He captured Kānyakubja and ascended the imperial throne. From

Kānyakubja they were able to construct an extensive empire rivalling that of Harṣavardhana. The zenith of their power was reached under Mihira Bhoja, who brought to completion the imperialistic scheme initiated by his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II.

The Pratihāras as imperial power in Northern India made important contributions to the history of the country. The first great contribution of the Pratihāras was the unification of the major part of Northern India. They served as a unifying power for about two hundred years and stood as a pillar of strength in the political life of India.

Another important contribution was the evolving of a governmental machinery amidst political unrest in the country. The Pratihāras linked up under their empire the vassal states. So long as the central power was strong the machinery ^{worked} ~~worked~~ all right and it gave a sense of unity, stability and efficiency.

The Pratihāras also contributed in good measure in the fields of literature and art. Kānyakubja under their rule was not only a political capital of India but also its cultural centre. It set up the literary and cultural norms to the other parts of India.

Yet achievements of the Pratihāras fell short of the political ideal of the country and yielded to the limitations of the time. They were not able to build up an Indian empire

or unify India under one sovereign power. The North and the South were politically divided and a balance of power was set up between the two which retarded the process of unification of the country during the early mediaeval period of Indian history.

The governmental machine which served the Pratīhāras for some time was no stable solution of the political need of the country. It had its own inherent weakness and undermined the empire from within. When after the reign of Mahīpāla I the Pratīhāra power began to decline, the feudal chiefs and the vassals did not lose any time in breaking away from the centre and thus accelerated the disintegration of the empire.

The absolute character of the Pratīhāra state was its another weakness. This isolated the ruling family and the state from other sections of the society, and the state had to depend mainly upon its military force, the people remaining indifferent to its fate. Another political ^{weakness} ~~weakness~~ of the Pratīhāras is found in their foreign policy and interstate relations. They could not evolve any effective machinery for political co-ordination of the neighbouring states, at least under the pressure of foreign invasion. This is fully illustrated in the final collapse of the Pratīhāra empire, when Mahmūd of Ghazni attacked Kanauj and the Pratīhāras had

to fight alone against the Turks. It is quite evident that the Pratihāras lacked insight in their foreign and frontier policy.

But even after making allowance for the shortcomings of the Pratihāra rule, it cannot be denied that the Pratihāras were a great power, and they played an important role in the history of the country.

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN SECTION B.

A

Ambulatory, pradakṣiṇā patha or processional path.

Antarāla, vestibule, chamber in front of shrine or cella.

Architrave, the beam or lowest division of the entablature which extends from column to ^{column.} column.

Ardha-mandapa, compartment in front of main hall of temple.

Āsana, a seat or throne.

Atlantes, sculptured human figures used in place of columns or pilasters.

Attic, the ^{upper} upper story of a building above the main cornice: of Athens or Attica.

B

Baluster, balustrade, a small pillar or column supporting a handrail.

Base, lower portion of any structure or feature.

Bastion, projecting part of a fortification.

Bay, a division or compartment; between pillars, a caukī.

Buttress, support built against a wall.

C

Capital, siras; upper portion of a column or pilaster

Cella, small chamber, compartment for the image or symbol.

^C Cloister, ^{covered} covered corridors, or passages usually surrounding an open square.

D.

Dado, portion of a pedestal between its base ^{and} ~~and~~ cornice;
also applied to the lower portions of walls.

E

Eave, chajjā, lower portion of a roof projecting beyond ^{the} ~~the~~
face of the wall.

F

Frieze, upper border; middle division of entablature.

G

Gallery, passage common to rooms in an upper story.

Garbha-grha, adytum, shrine, the most sacred part of a temple.

Gothic, pointed arched style prevalent in Western Europe
during the 12th to the 16th centuries.

H

Hellenic, ancient Greek.

J

Jamb, sides of the openings of doors and windows.

K

Kirtimukha, 'face of fame', an ornamental mask of great
antiquity in Indian art;

L

Latin Cross, cross with upright longer than arms.
Lintel, ^{beāṃ}, the timber or stone covering an opening.

M

Mahā-mandapa, large enclosed hall in front of main shrine;
also transepts.

Mandapa, large open hall. (contd. on the following page)

(Continued from the previous page)

M

Mortice, hole cut to receive a ~~projecting member~~
projection specially a tenon.

Moulding, the contour given to projecting members.

N

Nal, staircase, flight of steps.

Nal mandapa, porch over a staircase.

Niche, recess in ^awall for the reception of a statue or ornament.

O

Overailing, system of construction in domes or arches where one course of bricks or stones projects over the course below.

P

Pañcayatana, temple consisting of five shrines in a group.

Plan, representation of a building showing the general distribution of its parts in the horizontal section.

Plastic, modelled or moulded

Plinth, (pitha) lower ^{portion,} ~~portion~~, or base, of a building or column.

Porch, structure in front of doorway.

Portico, space enclosed within columns.

Q

Quoin, corner stones at the angles: angle of a building.

R

Rampart, broad-topped defensive mound or structure.

S

Sal, hall

Sanctum, holiest portion of a temple; inner sanctuary;
garbha-grha.

Shaft, portion of a column between base and capital.

Shrine, sanctuary, most sacred portion of a temple.

Śikhara, spire or tower.

Siras, capital of a pillar.

Śrīṅga, quarter śikhara like a turret attached to the
main śikhara.

Stencil, pattern inscribed or painted by means of a cut
plate.

String-course, horizontal moulding often under a parapet.

Strut, wood, stone or iron set up to bear weight or
pressure; a ^{brace} brace.

T

Torana, gateway of Indian design.

Torus, convex moulding chiefly used in pillar bases.

Transept, cross or transverse compartments of a building.

Turret, small tower.

U

Urūśrīṅga, half-śikhara like a turret attached to the
main śikhara, or spire.

V

~~Vestibule, ante-room.~~

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V.

Vestibule, ante-poen.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF THE PRATĪHĀRA INSCRIPTIONS

A

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRAS OF
GURJARATRĀ

Bāuka

- (1) Jodhpur stone inscription, V.E. 894-837 A.D., J.R.A.S., 1894, pp. 1-9; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 87-99.

Kakkuka

- (2) Ghatiyal stone inscription, V.E. 918-861 A.D., J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 513-21; Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Western Ind., 1906-07, p. 30, para 17; p. 34, para 29.

B

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRAS OF
BHĪRGUKACCHA

Dadda I

- (3) Sankheda copperplate, (K.E.) 346 (expired) 595-96 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 19

Dadda II

- (4) Umeta grant, Ś.S. 400-477-78 A.D. or 478-79, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 61-66
- (5) Bagumra grant, Ś.S. 415-492-93 or 493-94, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 183.
- (6) Ilao grant, Ś.S. 417-494-95 or 495-96, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 115-19; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, p. 19
- (7) Two grants of Dadda Prasāntarāga, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 37-41.

(8) Kaira copperplate charter, (K.E.) 380-629 A.D.,

Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 81-87.

(9) Kaira copperplate charter, (K.E.) 385-634 A.D.,

Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 88-91.

(10) Sankheda copperplate, (K.E.) 391 (expired) -641 A.D.,

Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 20.

Jayabhata III

(11) Nausari copperplate, (K.E.) 456 (expired) -706 A.D.,

Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 70-81.

(12) Kavi copperplate, (K.E.) 486 (expired) -736 A.D.,

Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 109-115

C

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARAS OF KĀNYAKUBJA

Vatsarāja

(13) Osia inscription, J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 1010

Nāgabhatta II

(14) Buckala (Bihar district, Jodhpur) stone inscription,

V.E. 872-815 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 198-200; also

noticed in J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 1011.

Bhoja I

(15) Barah copperplate inscription, V.E. 893-836 A.D.,

Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

- (16) Daulatpur (Jodhpur) copperplate inscription, V.E. 900=843 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 208-13; for controversy about the date see J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 410 f; J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 641; Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 1.
- (17) Deogadh (Lalitpur, Jhansi) stone inscription, V.E. 919=862 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 309-10; Arch Surv. Ind. Rep., Vol. X, p. 101.
- (18) Vaillabhattasvamin (Gwalior) temple stone inscription, V.E. 932=875 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 154-162.
- (19) Vaillabhattasvamin (Gwalior) temple stone inscription, V.E. 933=876 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 154-162.
- (20) Rehwa (Karnal district, ^{Punjab.}) stone inscription, Harsha Era, 276=882 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 184-90.
- (21) Gwalior (~~Agar-Tal~~ (Sagar-Tal) stone inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 99-114; Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., ~~1923-24~~, 1903-04, pp. 277-85.
- (22) Ahar (Bulandshahr district) stone inscription, Harsha Era, 259 (it gives other dates also)=865 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 52-62; J. of the U.P. Historical Society, Vol. III, pt. II (September, 1926), pp. 82-119; also noticed in Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1923-24, p. 97.
- (23) Pandava-kā-kilā (Delhi) stone inscription, Ann. Rep. Rajputana Museum, 1923-24, p. 3.
- (24) Barton Museum (Bhavnagar) fragmentary stone inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 174-77

Mahendrapāla I

- (25) Una (Junagadh, Kathiawad) copperplate inscription,
No. 1, Valabhī Era, 574-893 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 1-6.
- (26) Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district, Bihar) copperplate
inscription, V.E. 955-898 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. IV,
pp. 105-13; first mentioned in J.A.S.B., Vol. XXIII,
p. 321 f.
- (27) Una copperplate inscription, No. II, V.E. 956-899 A.D.,
Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 6-10.
- (28) Siyadoni (Gwalior) stone inscription, V.E. 960-903 A.D.,
Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 162, 179; first noticed in J.A.S.B.,
Vol. XXI, pp. 6-7.
- (29) Siyadoni (Gwalior) stone inscription, V.E. 964-907 A.D.,
Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 162-79.
- (30) Jhona (Karnal district, Punjab) stone inscription,
Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 242-50.
- (31) British Museum stone inscription, Regnal year 2,
mentioned in Kielhorn's list, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, Appendix,
p. 47, note 5.
- (32) Paharpur (North Bengal) stone inscription, Regnal year
5, noticed in Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1925-26, p. 141.
- (33) British Museum stone inscription, Regnal year 6,
mentioned in Kielhorn's list, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, Appendix,
pp. 47 note 5.
- (34) Itkhorī stone image inscription, Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.
Ind., 1920-21, p. 35.

- (35) Rangaya stone inscription, Regnal year 8, Mem. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64; referred to in Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., Vol. III, p. 123; XV, p. 1534; Ind. Ant., 1918, pp. 109-11.
- (36) Gumeriya stone inscription, Regnal year 9, Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep., Vol. III, p. 124; Mem. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. V No. 3, p. 64; Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 110.
- (37) ^{Mahipala I} Haddala (eastern Kathiawad) copperplate inscription, S.S. 836-914 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 190-95; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 90.
- (38) Asni (Fatehpur district, U.P.) stone inscription, V.E. 974-917 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 173-75.
- (39) Bengal Asiatic Society's copperplate, V.E. 988-931 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 138-41; first noticed in J.A.S.B., Vol. XVII (1848), p. 70f; see also Ibid, XXXI (1862), p. 1 f; J.A.S.B., Vol. XXI, p. 405f.
- (40) Rakhetra (Gwalior) stone inscription, V.E. 999-1000=942-43 A.D., Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1924-25, p. 168.
- Mahendrapala II
- (41) Partabgarh (Southern Rajputana) stone inscription, V.E. 1003-946 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.
- Devapala
- (42) Siyadoni (Gwalior) stone inscription, V.E. 1005-948 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 162-79.
- Vijayapala
- (43) Rajorgarh (Alwar) stone inscription, V.E. 1016-959 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 263-67

Trilochanapāla

- (44) Jhusi (ancient Pratisthāna, opposite Allahabad)
copperplate inscription, V.E. 1084-1027 A.D.,
Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35.

Yasahpāla

- (45) Kara (Allahabad district) stone inscription, V.E.
1093-1036 A.D., J.R.A.S., 1927, pp. 692-95; noticed
in As. Res., Vol. IX, pp. 440-41; Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.
Ind., 1923-24, pp. 122-24; Colebrooke, Essays, II, pp.
245-46.

APPENDIX III

SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF OTHER DYNASTIES THROWING
LIGHT ON THE PRATIHARA HISTORY

A

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CĀHAMĀNAS

- (1) Hansot plates of Bhartrvaddha II, V.E. 813=756 A.D.,
Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., Western circle, 1907-08, p. 41;
Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 177-204.
- (2) Harṣa stone inscription of Vigraharāja II, V.E.
1030=973 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 116-30; Ind. Ant.,
1913, pp. 57-64.

B

INSCRIPTION OF THE CĀLUKYAS

- (3) Aihole inscription of Pulikēśi II, S.S. 556=634-35
A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 237-45.

C

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CADELLAS

- (4) ~~xxxxxx~~ Khajuraho stone inscription, No. I, of Harṣadeva,
Ap. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 121-22.
- (5) Khajuraho stone inscription, No. II, of Dhāṅga, V.E.
1011=954 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 124-35.
- (6) Khajuraho stone inscription, of Dhāṅga, V.E. 1059=1002
A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 137-47.
- (7) Mhow (Mau) stone inscription of Madanavarmadeva, Ep. Ind.,

- (7) -(Contd.) - Vol. I, pp. 195-207; A. & R., Vol. XII, pp. 359-74
- (8) Mahoba Jaina image-inscription of Madanavarmadeva, V.S. 1211=1154-55 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 217-22.

D.**INSCRIPTION OF THE GUHILOTS**

- (9) Gatsu inscription of Bālāditya, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

E**INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KACCHAPAGHĀTAS**

- (10) Sāsabhū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, V.E. 1159=1093 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.
- (11) Dubkund stone inscription of Vikramasiriha, V.E. 1145=1088 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 232-40.

F**INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACURIS.**

- (12) Bihari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 251-70.
- (13) Banaras grant of Karnadeva, K.E. 793=1042 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 297-310.
- (14) Goharwa plates of Karnadeva, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 139-46.
- (15) Kahla copperplate inscription of Sodhadeva, V.E. 1134=1077 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 85-93.
- (16) Anoda plates of Prthvīdeva I, Cedi Samvat 831=

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- (16) (Contd.)- 844-1079-80^{A.D.}, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81.

G

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PĀLAS

- (17) Khalimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla, Regnal year 32, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 243-54.
- (18) Monghyr copperplate inscription of Devapāla, Regnal year 33, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 304-07.
- (19) Bhagalpur copperplate inscription of Nārāyanapāla, Regnal year 17, Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 304-10.
- (20) Badal pillar inscription of Gurava misra, minister of Nārāyanapāla, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 160-67; also see As. Res., Vol. I, pp. 131-44; J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIII pt. I, pp. 356-63.
- (21) Baragaon pillar inscription of Rājyapāla, Regnal year 24, Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, 1917, p. 111.
- (22) Baragaon or Mālandā stone-image inscription of Gopāla II, II, Regnal year 1, J.A.S.B., 1908, N.S., Vol. IV, pp. 105-06.
- (23) Bodhgaya inscription of Gopāla II, Ibid, pp. 102-05; Ibid, Vol. V (1909), pp. 103-04.

H

INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMĀRAS

- (24) Udayapur Prasthi, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 222-38.

I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

- (25) Samangad plates of Dentidurga, S.S. 675-754 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 108.
~~Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 108~~

- (26) Ellora Daśavatāra cave inscription, Arch.Surv. Ind., Western circle, V, pp. 88 ff.
- (27) Wani copperplate inscription of Govinda III, Ś.S. 730-808 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 156-63.
- (28) Radhanpur copperplates of Govinda III, Ś.S. 730-808 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 239-51.
- (29) Baroda copperplate ^{inscription} ~~inscriptions~~ of Karkarāja, Ś.S. 734-812 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 156-65.
- (30) Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala, V.E. 917-850 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 248-56; Ind. Ant., 1911, pp. 239-40.
- (31) Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, Ś.S. 788-~~829~~ 866 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 98-108.
- (32) Bagumra copperplate inscription of Dhruvarāja, Ś.S. 789-867 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 179-90.
- (33) Sanjan copperplates of Amoghavarṣa I, Ś.S. 793-871 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 235-57; J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, p. 116f.
- (34) Bagumra plates of Kṛṣṇa (of the Gujarat Branch), Ś.S. 810-888 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 66ff.
- (35) Bagumra plates of Indra III, Ś.S. 836-915 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 24-41.
- (36) Cambay copperplate inscription of Govinda IV, Ś.S. 852-930 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 26-47.
- (37) Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III, Ś.S. 862-940 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 192 ff.

- (38) Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 287-90.
- (39) Karhad copperplates of Kṛṣṇa III, S.S. 880-959 A.D., Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.
- (40) Karda grant of Kakka II, S.S. 894-972 A.D., Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 263-70; J.R.A.S.O.S., Vol. II, p. 379; Vol. III, pp. 94 ff.

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION.

In the middle of the sixth century A.D. the first Pratihāra power was established in Gurjaratrā. Soon after it became a potent factor in the history of south-western India. In the same century, the Pratihāras of Gurjaratrā were able to establish their feudatory dynasty in Bhrgukaccha as a check against the rising power of the Cālukyas. Though the growing power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was threatened by the campaigns of Prabhākaravardhana, the Pratihāras withstood the threat squarely and consolidated their power in the territories stretching from south-western Rajputana in the north up to present day Gujarat.

The ^{second} ~~second~~ step in the rise of the Pratihāra power is marked by the resistance offered by the Pratihāras to the Arab invaders of Sindh. Though they suffered some reverses in the beginning as claimed by the Arab sources, they were able to hold their own against the Arabs and checked their expansion into the interior of the country. Here they politically and militarily justified their title 'Pratihāra' by functioning as the gate-keepers of India against foreign invaders.

The third stage in the development of the Pratihāra power was reached, when a section of the Pratihāras of south-western Rajaputana branched off to Avanti or Mālava

and established a powerful dynasty there. This dynasty, no doubt, weakened the original Pratihāra dynasty in Rajputāna, but it was able to suppress permanently the Arab menace. The Pratihāras of Avantī managed to build up a kingdom more extensive than the original one in Rajputana and enjoyed greater prestige and influence in the political life of the country. But in doing so they came into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta (Malkhed). Malava, the tract of the country connecting the north and the south, was a bone of contention between these two powers. Though the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made a few successful military inroads, the Pratihāras recouped very soon and continued their expansion at the cost of the neighbouring states.

It was the time when the central authority of Kānyakubja collapsed after the meteoric career of Yaśovarman and there followed a scramble for gaining the suzerainty of the North amongst the great contemporary powers. The Pratihāras entered the race for suzerainty with the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. A tripartite war ensued with varying successes, but ultimately the Pratihāras came out with flying colours under the able leadership of Nāgabhaṭa II. He captured Kānyakubja and ascended the imperial throne. From

Kānyakubja they were able to construct an extensive empire rivalling that of Harṣavardhana. The zenith of their power was reached under Mihira Bhoja, who brought to completion the imperialistic scheme initiated by his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II.

The Pratīhāras as imperial power in Northern India made important contributions to the history of the country. The first great contribution of the Pratīhāras was the unification of the major part of Northern India. They served as a unifying power for about two hundred years and stood as a pillar of strength in the political life of India.

Another important contribution was the evolving of a governmental machinery amidst political unrest in the country. The Pratīhāras linked up under their empire the vassal states. So long as the central power was strong the machinery ^{worked} ~~we-^{rk}ed~~ all right and it gave a sense of unity, stability and efficiency.

The Pratīhāras also contributed in good measure in the fields of literature and art. Kānyakubja under their rule was not only a political capital of India but also its cultural centre. It set up the literary and cultural norms to the other parts of India.

Yet achievements of the Pratīhāras fell short of the political ideal of the country and yielded to the limitations of the time. They were not able to build up an Indian empire

or unify India under one sovereign power. The North and the South were politically divided and a balance of power was set up between the two which retarded the process of unification of the country during the early mediaeval period of Indian history.

The governmental machine which served the Pratīhāras for some time was no stable solution of the political need of the country. It had its own inherent weakness and undermined the empire from within. When after the reign of Mahīpāla I the Pratīhāra power began to decline, the feudal chiefs and the vassals did not lose any time in breaking away from the centre and thus accelerated the disintegration of the empire.

The absolute character of the Pratīhāra state was its another weakness. This isolated the ruling family and the state from other sections of the society, and the state had to depend mainly upon its military force, the people remaining indifferent to its fate. Another political ^{weakness} ~~weakness~~ of the Pratīhāras is found in their foreign policy and interstate relations. They could not evolve any effective machinery for political co-ordination of the neighbouring states, at least under the pressure of foreign invasion. This is fully illustrated in the final collapse of the Pratīhāra empire, when Mahmūd of Ghazni attacked Kanauj and the Pratīhāras had

to fight alone against the Turks. It is quite evident that the Pratihāras lacked insight in their foreign and frontier policy.

But even after making allowance for the shortcomings of the Pratihāra rule, it cannot be denied that the Pratihāras were a great power, and they played an important role in the history of the country.